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EUROPEAN PLANS FOR PERPETUAL PEACE AND THEIR IMPACT UPON THE LAW OF WAR ¹

by G.I.A.D. Draper

INTRODUCTION

Writers have expressed the view that man's interest in projects for establishing perpetual peace is as old as man's participation in warfare. We cannot be certain that Europe can be considered the cradle of such projects for peace, although the Greek city states certainly elaborated a complex system of treaty relationships between themselves to that end. Europe was not to see a like network of sophisticated treaty relationships until the 19th century. Supporting these elaborate treaty networks was the fact that the Greeks enjoyed a common religious-legal and linguistic substratum which tended to mitigate the harshness of the intense inter-city rivalries and enmities. The Greeks, as in so many other excursions in thought, were the architects of the modern array of different kinds of political treaties, e.g., of alliance, confederation, federation and, from the 4th century B.C., peace treaties of unlimited duration. In particular, religious leagues were established for the common defence of a shared and sacred shrine. Such were the *Amphictyonys* of the 5th century B.C. The religious bond between the cities parties to such compacts extended into the political sphere so that the city states bound thereby became confederated by the terms of the *amphictyony*, as was the case of the confederate association for the protection of the great shrine at Delphi.

¹ Paper delivered as a public lecture in the University of Sussex, 5 March 1979.

Ancient Greece knew and contributed to later international law two powerful devices, one persuasive of preserving peace, and the other disruptive and war promoting. The first was the system of arbitration of which the Greeks made great use for the settlement of frontier disputes or contested rights, e.g., to water. The two city states in dispute would appoint a third state to arbitrate, which in its turn appointed certain of its citizens as the arbitral committee. It was perfectly licit and normal for the winning state to reward the arbitrators with gifts and honours. The device with the reverse effect was that of reprisals, which might be taken by the wronged individual not only against the wrongdoer, but against his city and fellow citizens. This was the famous *androlepsia* which allowed the seizure and abduction of a luckless and innocent foreign citizen.

Earlier civilizations cannot be ignored in the matter of projects for peace. Sumerian civilization yields us a treaty of 3000 B.C. between the two cities of Umma and Lugash inscribed on a boundary stone setting the disputed boundary, with the enforcement mechanism of the religious inviolability of the stone. Such a treaty gained credibility by the fact that the two cities shared the same gods. Pharaonic Egypt, a civilization of 3,000 years duration, yields a crop of treaties for establishing peace enforced by the gods of both parties. Thereby Egypt got over the legal-religious difficulty that Pharaoh, being god and ruler, could not be bound by treaty, and could not admit defeat on his own monuments. Thus we have an elaborate treaty for establishing indefinite peace and an alliance between the Hittite kingdom of Hattusili II and Rameses II of the XIXth Dynasty, of about 1269 B.C. This treaty was expressed to bind the sons of those two rulers and their two countries. This was a pioneer project transcending the personal tie between the two rulers parties to the treaty. Both rulers were to assist each other against their internal foes, e.g., by handing over rebels in one territory who escaped to the other, but on condition that the persons so extradited were not to be punished upon delivery to their own kingdom. We cannot, however, be certain that such treaty practices were known to the Greeks although there were a number of Greek cities in the Nile delta during the 6th century B.C.

In looking at the ancient world and its efforts to establish lasting peace we must not overlook the Chinese civilization. In particular, Confucius devoted much thought to a peace project and produced "The Grand Union of Chinese States" in the early 5th century B.C. This was an elaborate and sophisticated inter-state plan in which some

have seen the delineaments of the League of Nations of 1920. Of the transmigration of this idea to Europe we have no evidence. The Chinese, like the Greeks in Europe, had applied their minds vigorously to the perpetual questions of peace and war.

In drawing attention to certain examples afforded by treaties of alliance and confederation in ancient Greece as precedents for what has been attempted by the territorial states of Europe, it is prudent to bear in mind that the Greek treaty was more inter-municipal than international in our modern sense. What does merit attention is the attitude of ancient Greek civilization to war as such. Of all the possible routes for man to the elimination of war his own moral improvement is probably, in the last result, the most rewarding; without it all international law and ingenious diplomatic devices are sterile. Socrates, according to Plato, considered war to be a form of "disease and discord". War should be confined to armed struggles between Greeks and barbarians, i.e., non-Greeks. This idea had the result that wars between Greeks were regrettable and should therefore be conducted with moderation, in that Greeks shared the same religion, culture and language. One aspect of this was the special treaty protection of religious shrines in time of war by the amphictyonic leagues, and wooden war memorials that would soon disappear.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Before looking at specific projects for perpetual peace that have been made in the European context some theoretical considerations may be appropriate. The interest in establishing perpetual peace is perennial although there have been periods when that interest has flagged. As long as war exists, this interest will continue. What is surprising and disturbing is the poverty in new ideas for perpetual peace of our time. One may say that whereas wars have most assuredly become more destructive, physically and morally, with the passage of years and the relentless development of technology, the lack of new ideas in schemes for establishing perpetual peace is no less apparent. Neither do we in our time seem to be particularly disturbed at the threadbare condition of our peace thinking. The experiments of our 20th century, such as the League of Nations and the United Nations Organization, have nothing particularly novel in them. They represent one of the accepted and well trod avenues of approach to the perpetual peace desideratum. Admittedly, neither the League nor the U.N. is limited to peace in

Europe. However, the former may be considered as Euro-centric in its approach and modalities, however much President Wilson may claim to be its promoter and prime-mover. The U.N. is an attempt to correct the deficiencies of the League on a more organic, comprehensive and legalistic basis. It still has marked overtones of Euro-American centralism in its ideas and structures, even though the wider membership occasioned by the dissolution of the colonial system has transformed the Organization from its "European" nature to a more universal one. The framers of the Charter intended UNO to be a universal organization of States, but the ideas in the redaction are European and North American. It remains to be seen how the Charter as at present framed will stand the test of a larger and wider membership of States, the majority of which do not share its ideals and did not participate in its redaction. On analysis, the provisions of the Charter for establishing perpetual peace are not particularly novel and have proved deficient in many respects.

In general it can be said that the peace interest in Europe, apart from some rare thinkers, was not marked before the 18th century. This interest mounted in the 19th century although wars were less frequent than in the 18th, particularly in its closing years. Then, for the first time, there is discernible an interest in perpetual peace plans designed to head off future wars rather than as a reaction from the last one. Wars had, by the end of the 19th century, reached a destructive propensity which will never allow the question of how to establish perpetual peace to recede for long from the minds of men.

What have been the devices upon which men have, at one time or another, placed some reliance for the establishment of permanent peace? The most ambitious of these is the improvement in the nature of mankind:—"peace is made in the hearts of man", it is said. At the lower level, where human ambition and rivalry are accepted as a permanent part of the human experience, other devices have from time to time been moved up to limit such ambition and rivalry. There are not so many of these devices and our progress in finding new ones seems extremely limited. Such devices include:—

- (i) international organizations, established under a system of international law imposing obligations binding upon the members of such organizations, normally sovereign States,
- (ii) international law whereby aggressive resort to armed force is, today, an international crime, and States undertake treaty obligations to settle their disputes peaceably,

- (iii) international politics operating through diplomacy,
- (iv) political domination, the converse of a system of a world federation of all States. This latter would produce international law of a novel kind, namely, the law governing the relationships of all States linked in comprehensive federal association. It is not impossible that a federal association of States might be the outcome of political domination. Neither can it be assumed that the dream of political domination is spent.

The framers of projects for perpetual peace have been aware of the previous experiments in that direction. They have, as in most human affairs, borrowed from each other, but they seem to have learnt singularly little from the failures of those who preceded them. New ideas for the establishment of permanent peace have been very rare. Perhaps the hand of history has been too heavy upon them.

It is customary to attribute the failure of the international organization device to the power of the modern State and the reflection of that power in the legal doctrine of the sovereignty of States. This doctrine is still in many respects the centre piece of our contemporary system of international law. The rise of the power of the State and the accompanying intensity of modern warfare are said to be a cause and effect. In former times, the weakness of the State was seen as the cause of disaster and wars.

From such considerations evolved the conception of the sovereignty of States, meaning to the jurist the aggregate of powers, rights, immunities and privileges that international law confers upon the State, identified by that system of law. The idea that the State is subject to international law because that law made it a State, even a sovereign State, has not yet been translated into international politics, although the various peace projects are designed upon that basic legal assumption. It seems fairly clear that international organizations are not of themselves the answer to the quest for perpetual peace. That probably has to be found in the attitudes of governments and the governed to such organizations. That may be the crucial question. This line of thought brings us back to the idea that the solution lies in the improvement of man. There we encounter an extensive lacuna, the lack of our knowledge of our own nature, e.g., the psychology of men in governments dealing with other governments and with their own peoples. That is but one aspect of

arriving at some control over the human attitude to systems for perpetual peace. To improve we have to know well what we have to improve.

Perhaps it is appropriate in a university to propose that one part of the endeavour to secure an improved attitude to projects for permanent peace is the removal of ignorance. Ignorance feeds suspicion which has proved fatal in previous endeavours to secure and maintain peace. Is it too ambitious to suggest that education may have a key role to play in this move to change attitudes of governments and governed alike to the establishment of permanent peace?

International lawyers approach the law of war under two main divisions, the *jus ad bellum*, i.e., the international law governing the right of States and other organized political entities to resort to armed force, and the *jus in bello*, i.e., the law governing the conduct of belligerents once war has begun. The interplay between the two has been complex and has by no means lost its importance in our day. The more fragile the system of ensuring the peace may be, in the prevailing political climate of the time, the greater has been the attention given to the law imposing restraint upon the conduct of belligerents in warfare. The past decade has seen a marked lack of confidence in the existing peace system, whether universal, as in the U.N. Charter, or in regional arrangements such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact, OAS or OAU. In the past ten years a considerable corpus of new *jus in bello* has been established under the revealing title—"The International Humanitarian Law of Armed Conflict". This includes not only the law governing the war conduct of State belligerents, but also of "national liberation movements", and of the parties to an internal conflict or armed rebellion, within the territory of one State. In this new law there is a requirement that States instruct their armed forces in that law and "encourage (in time of peace) the study thereof by their civilian population". It would seem an omission that we do not have the like requirement in the next operative project for securing perpetual peace so that it may become known to the entire world, including members of governments who stand in particular need of not being exempt from the wholesome process of education.

There would also seem to be some need to ensure that men and women are aware of the international law about resorting to armed force and the system for preventing that occurrence, as well as of the law which prevails when that system fails. Such awareness might correct the prevailing impression, still with the majority, that "in time of war the laws are silent", written on the War Memorial in Lincoln's Inn.

SOME EUROPEAN PROJECTS FOR PERPETUAL PEACE

These plans have been described as a catalogue of human failures. Yet, even if that were wholly true, it is no less important to study them and to seek to derive from their failures something novel.

We know that there were early attempts in the Christian underground societies before the Edict of Milan of 313 A.D. to proscribe the military calling for Christians. It was not a plan for perpetual peace. It was a strong feeling in the early Church, when standards were high and before it became established, that war and Christianity were not compatible activities. The arguments about this development and the reasons for it are endless. They tend to be coloured by the religious denomination of the historian. It was a position adopted only by Christians and drew upon it the scorn of pagan intellectuals. "What then", asked Celsus (A.D. 178), "do the Christians do to defend the territories of the Empire?". "We pray", was the Christian rejoinder. Celsus was not impressed.

Nevertheless, there was a moment when underground Christianity took a pacifist attitude to war based on its incompatibility with the Christian religion. The removal of paganism as the official religion of the Empire and, particularly, the abandonment of the Roman Emperors' claim to be god as well as Emperor and Commander in Chief, were not without their impact upon the attitude of Christians to war after the Edict of Milan A.D. 313. In the context of the controversy between St. Augustine and Faustus, the Manichaean heretic, in the early 5th century, St. Augustine gave his great authority to what became the official Christian approach to war. It is not necessarily sinful, he wrote, for a Christian to take part in a war. The mediaeval doctrine of the "just war" was launched. Its final demise was not seen until late in the 18th century. Its influence upon the actual conduct of warfare was almost wholly unfortunate. It accounts for much of the barbarity, lust for killing, rapine and destruction of mediaeval warfare. A Prince who waged a "just war", i.e., one for a "just cause" with a right intention, was implementing the will of God. The adversary was by definition opposing the will of God. The party waging the "unjust war" was subject to the full restraints of the law of war, such as they were. The wager of the "just war" was not in like case. Further, the will of God could be displayed in the fact of victory, the *arbitrium Dei*, whereby the "just" Prince punished the wicked (the defeated) in this world as

the devils in hell would in the next. As the will of God was, and is, not divisible, both belligerents could not be waging a "just" war.

It was not until the late 16th century that the idea of the law of war binding the "just" and the "unjust" alike found a foothold. In this the Spaniard Vittoria was a pioneer. It is part of the credit due to Grotius that though he wrote at length in 1605 and 1625 about the "just causes" of war, he was firmly of the view that the law of war bound the "just" and the "unjust" belligerent alike. This matter is not academic today because the "just war" doctrine has now passed into international law as the "just and lawful" resort to force by States, as now contained and defined in Arts. 2(4) and 51 of the U.N. Charter. Shortly after 1945 questions were asked by jurists whether the modern law of war restrained, and conferred rights upon, the aggressor and the victim State in like measure, e.g., in the extensive rights of the military occupant of enemy territory, a frequent consequence of aggression. Jurists also asked whether neutrality, as classically conceived, had been wholly or partially eroded by the prohibition of the resort to aggressive force by States in Art. 2(4) of that Charter. These matters still agitate jurists.

The old "just war" doctrine sought to limit the resort to war and not to establish perpetual peace. Its practical impact upon the *jus in bello* was considerable and morally disastrous. It was less so when that doctrine was modified to become, in the 15th century, the "public and open war", and the moral overtones of its "justness" became redundant. As no war was "just" unless "avowed" by the Prince, no Prince would in practice admit that any war "avowed" by him was other than "just". A war not so "avowed" was a private war which stood under the anathema of the Church and, in time, was removed as a scourge of Europe. Neither prisoners nor booty nor spoils could be taken in a private war, and acts of killing, seizure and destruction became acts of brigandage.

Of the specifically European peace projects, by way of reconstruction of the political world, a device that came to be associated with Europe, the pioneer was Pierre Dubois, a French lawyer (1250-1312) of evil reputation responsible for the torture and persecution of the Order of Knights Templars to secure the aggrandisement and wealth of his royal master, Philip IV, the Fair. In 1306 he produced a pamphlet entitled "On the Recovery of the Holy Land", demanding peace throughout Christendom as a necessary prelude for a successful Crusade. The method he urged was a General Council of prelates and Christian Princes presided over by the Pope. Members of the Council who waged

war against other members were to be outlawed, an institution of the Middle Ages which betokened the weakness of law enforcement mechanisms. Disputes between members of the General Council were to go to arbitration by three Princes and three prelates chosen by each side from a panel appointed by the Council, with an appeal from the arbitrators to the Pope. Breach of the peace so covenanted must lead to concerted military action by all the members against the offender, who would be deprived of all his possessions and banished to the Holy Land, a somewhat strange sanction for a Christian Prince. It was thought that the punishment fitted the crime in that he would be able to exercise his superfluous military energy against the infidels as opposed to peace-loving Christian Princes in Europe. In reality, the plan was a disguised claim for French hegemony by by-passing of the Emperor. There was little in the plan that could be called original. The salient ideas were known to the ancient Greeks, and thought out by them more thoroughly and coherently. Its impact upon the law of war was minimal except to lend emphasis upon the "justness" of a Crusade with all that that entailed for the infidels, as has been displayed by Runciman in his classic work on the history of the Crusades.

A like project directed at the Turks was put to the French king Louis XI by the king of Bohemia, George (Podebrand), on the advice of one, Marini, in 1462. Once again it was a covert plan for French hegemony disguised as an alliance of Christian States. There was to be a permanent Council with wide powers over the confederated states, and a confederal tribunal. This time both the Pope and the Emperor were ignored. Louis XI declined to co-operate and the project came to nought. A like plan was embodied in a treaty concluded in 1518 between our Henry VIII and Francis I of France. The Treaty was directed against the Turks and any aggressor ruler, and designed to establishing universal and permanent peace. Other Christian Princes were invited to accede to the treaty. There was no organization of States. It came to nothing. In reality it was part of Cardinal Wolsey's "forward" policy to be a dominant figure in Europe and to boost his candidature for the Papacy. The latter had put up a rival scheme which Wolsey wished to eclipse.

None of these projects had any roots in political actuality and were masked devices for unilateral and temporary policies. They cannot properly be seen as preludes to the League of Nations and they made little advance upon what had been done much better centuries before in ancient Greece.

The 16th century religious tensions in Europe precluded and negated projects for perpetual peace, but these revived in the 17th century. In

1623 another Frenchman, Emeric Crucé, wrote "A discourse, setting out the occasions and means of establishing a general peace."¹ Written under the impact of the Thirty Years War, it sought to convince Princes of the wickedness and stupidity of war. The minor theme was the establishment of permanent peace. For this he proposed that the Princes set up a permanent council of ambassdors at some place, e.g., Venice, to settle disputes rationally and calmly. The main preoccupation of Crucé was the pre-eminence of France and settling matters of precedence. Undoubtedly the latter frequently destroyed any hope of diplomatic consensus. It came to nothing except that at the end of the 19th century it was discovered by the pacifist school of writers on international affairs who fell upon it with an enthusiasm which the merits of the work did not deserve.

A more important political project was that of Sully, Minister to the French king, Henry IV, written after the latter's assassination in 1620, at a time when Sully had been forced to leave the royal service and was in retirement. Sully's "Grand Design" envisaged a European federation of States, with a redistribution of territory, composed of 15 States, 6 hereditary and 6 elective monarchies and 3 republics. There was to be a General Council with governmental functions and 6 Provincial Councils which were the organs of the federation. In reality, the Grand Design was directed against Spain and Austria then under the Hapsburgs and from whom large areas of their territories were to be taken. The federation would be able to repel the Turks by a federation force to which the members contributed contingents, an embryonic international "war-making" force.

The projects so far considered display certain recurrent features. First, they are all for French aggrandisement and the repulsion of the Turks or other infidels from Europe. Second, they lack any form of political reality. Third, they mask their real purpose. Fourth, they display little novelty. Fifth, they have little impact upon political events. Sixth, they have the like impact upon legal doctrine whether in the *jus ad bellum* or in the *jus in bello*.

In the 18th century we see for the first time an express reference to the "balance of power" device of international politics, in the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. That conception was not novel and may have been posed in the early 16th century by Francesco Guicciardini. It came to

¹ Original title: "Le Nouveau Cynée, ou Discours d'état représentant les occasions et moyens d'établir une paix générale."

mean the preservation of the *status quo* among a group of States in a specific geographic area of varying size. It had an implication for the doctrine of the "just war", namely, whether a war to preserve the *status quo* might properly be considered as a "just war" or as an example of lawful intervention by a State, a doctrine of somewhat precarious standing in international law. The balance of power doctrine is one of high politics and not one of international law. It has been, and still may be, one of the devices for seeking to maintain perpetual peace, but with limited success.

In 1693 William Penn the Quaker published an essay entitled "Towards the present and future peace of Europe". This improved upon the earlier idea of federations of States only by including the Muscovites and the Turks. It proposed an elaborately composed council, the votes of the members being determined by the yearly revenues of their respective foreign trades, a very English proposal.

A major contribution to perpetual peace projects was made by the Abbé Saint-Pierre in 1713. His main proposal was to continue and perpetuate the "balance of power" system, i.e., the *status quo* as it stood at the Peace of Utrecht, 1713. His federation of States was to be confined to Christian States. Its purpose was to prevent both foreign and civil wars, and to preserve the existing forms of governments. That was a novelty. The supreme organ was to be a Senate, a permanent organ, composed of delegates of member States with power to settle disputes between them. A recalcitrant member State would be forced into submission by war. Each major State had one vote in the Senate while minor States were grouped, with one vote. Saint-Pierre's project received only moderate enthusiasm from Louis XIV. Frederick the Great, after seizing Silesia, informed Voltaire in a letter that the peace plan of the Abbé Saint-Pierre "is very practical but for the fact that it needs for its success the consent of Europe, and some other bagatelles". The continued enthusiasm for his peace plan evinced by the Abbé was not commensurate with its success or practical effects.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a formidable but maligned thinker, was a great admirer of the Abbé and his ideas. In 1756 Rousseau wrote a work of adulation on the Abbé's peace project. In the same year, 1756, Rousseau wrote his "Jugement sur la paix perpétuelle". In this work he set out his own ideas. These were twofold. First, the Abbé's ideas for peace could be implemented only by a very tight and binding confederation of States. Second, it was utopian to expect the first. In his

writing, "L'Etat de Guerre" (1755), Rousseau set out his famous theory ¹ which had a considerable impact upon the law of war, propelling it in a humanitarian direction. He propounded: "There can be no war between man and man, not even between band and band, either in the state of nature or in the civil state, but only violence and murder. War presupposes the existence of organized communities: all the horrors of war derive from the very precautions which men take to prevent it, from creation of the state. . . . The sole end of war is, or ought to be, to preserve the existence, or assert the equality, of the state against other states. . . . The state which uses barbaric methods of war is confusing the body politic, the sole legitimate object of hostility, with the individuals who compose it. In either case there is a violation of the first principles on which the state rests—of its autonomy in the one case, of its corporate structure in the other." He continued: "There is no prospect of federal leagues being established otherwise than by revolution and, on this assumption, which of us would venture to say whether the European League is more to be desired than feared? It might perhaps do more harm all of a sudden than it could prevent for centuries." At last someone had made a break with the federation device for perpetual peace. In his "Contrat Social" which appeared in 1762, he wrote: "Having thus laid down the true principles of political right and striven to establish the State upon a durable foundation I have now but to strengthen it on the side of its relations with other powers. . . . But all this forms a new field which is too vast for my limited vision. It is better that I confine myself to things nearer at hand."

Although Rousseau virtually contradicted himself in advocating a strict and tight federal system of states as the only method of attaining permanent peace and then abandoned it as utopian, his views about the nature of war have had a profound impact upon the acceptance of the humanitarian bases of the law of warfare. In the "Contrat Social" he had expressed the novel view that: "The object of war being the destruction of the enemy State, one has the right to kill its defenders only when they have weapons in their hands; but immediately they put them down and surrender, thus ceasing to be enemies or agents of the enemy, they once more become ordinary men, and one no longer has any right to their life. Sometimes one can extinguish a State without killing a single member of it; moreover war confers no right other than

¹ Repeated in his *Contrat social*, Book 1, chap. 4. This view was adopted by Portalis in 1801.—See Lassudrie-Duchêne, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau et le droit des gens* (1906).

that which is necessary for its purpose.” Now these are important and guiding principles which lie at the root of much of our modern law of war, from the de Martens Preamble to the Hague Convention No. IV on the Law of War on Land of 1907 to the Geneva Conventions, 1864 to 1949, and the Additional Protocols of 1977. Rousseau has some claim to be considered the father of the modern humanitarian law of armed conflicts. Moreover, his principle of proportionality is now accepted as the basis of the law of war governing the conduct of hostilities. These are no light claims, whatever may have been the contradictions in which Rousseau found himself in advocating a solution for perpetual peace which he was forced to dismiss as utopian.

The 18th century concluded with Kant's contribution to the theme of perpetual peace in his work “Toward Perpetual Peace”, of 1795. Kant considered that perpetual peace was no vain imagining, but attainable by a long process of moving toward certain conditions defined by him and within human power to attain. Such conditions excluded mental reservations in the making of peace treaties, and the abolition of standing armies. State constitutions should be republican, to keep the legislative from the executive power. The law of nations should rest upon a confederation of free countries. Kant carefully refrained from setting up and formulating a utopian organization of States, but was content to point out that a confederation was a requirement for perpetual peace. The philosopher was no dreamer.

The 19th century displayed great activity in political agreements and declarations. The system of States established by the Congress of Vienna of 1815 lasted for nearly a century, with the new German Confederation as a permanent league of sovereign States in place of the old Holy Roman Empire. The “Concert of Europe” came to be extended to a system of co-operation among European States acting in the supposed European interest, and based upon international law. By the early 1850s the European Concert of the Great Powers broke down with the Crimean War. In the Treaty which concluded that war, the Treaty of Paris, 1856, the principle of self-determination, for Wallachia and Moldavia then under Turkish sovereignty, found a place, albeit without plebiscite, for the first time as a device for reducing the prospect of war. At the same time the law of nations (international law) reached out to embrace the Latin American States, the USA and the Far East, but they received that law with its European imprint and content.

Unrelated to the emergence of new projects for perpetual peace, but impelled by positivist theories of law and secular humanitarian forces,

a codification of the law of war was achieved in a series of Conventions established at the Second Hague Peace Conference of 1907. It is true to say that the law of war was the first part of international law to receive the codification treatment, by the impetus of Imperial Russia under Tsar Nicholas II. In the result, the written law of war achieved a precocity for which it has had to pay dearly as an anachronism in this century. The modern system of arbitration for the settlement of inter-state disputes was originated in 1794 by the conclusion of the treaty between Great Britain and the USA, known as the "Jay Treaty of Arbitration"¹ whereby mixed commissions might determine disputes relating to the exercise of belligerent rights by Great Britain, and U.S.A. neutrality, at sea. Nineteenth century arbitration was led by the U.S.A. and the U.K. and culminated in the establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague by a Convention concluded at the first Hague Peace Conference of 1899, as an administrative apparatus and not as a court.

THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE. THE PACT OF PARIS AND THE U.N. CHARTER

The League of Nations was created by the Covenant which formed Part I of the Peace Treaties of 1918 with Germany and the Central Powers. A peace treaty is not the happiest place in which to launch a project for perpetual peace. In any event, the Covenant of the League did not seek to prohibit resort to war but to delay resort to it. The principle behind the League was not novel. It was an association of independent but co-operating States, each Member State retaining its sovereignty, although each of them accepted certain prohibitions in the exercise of their sovereign rights. There was no system of international government. It was not an organic association, and it lacked virtually any corporate capacity and enjoyed no legal personality.

By the second half of the 19th century and until the establishment of the League Covenant in 1920, it was orthodox international law that States, in the absence of express treaty obligations, had, as an essential and inherent part of their sovereignty, the right to resort to

¹ Named after the then American Secretary of State, John Jay.

war as an instrument of national policy. Thereby international law contained its own cancer. Under the Covenant, States accepted the obligation of pacific settlement of disputes and agreed not to resort to war for a certain period after those means had been exhausted. Organs of the League were established to monitor and adjudicate the breach of these obligations and to apply economic, and advise upon military, sanctions for their breach. The renunciation of war was not complete, but it would be unlikely that a State could contrive to initiate a resort to war without violating a provision of the Covenant. To the extent that there was a gap in that respect, the gap was remedied by the Pact of Paris (the Briand-Kellog Pact) of 1928. Thereby States undertook to settle their disputes only by pacific means, and renounced war as an instrument of national policy. This instrument survived the dissolution of the League of Nations in April 1946 and is still in force although its obligations are overtaken by the U.N. Charter of 1945, Art. 2(4). The Preamble to the Pact of Paris contained its sanction: "...any Signatory Power which shall seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this Treaty." Thus Hitler's Germany, by violating the Pact in relation to Poland in 1939 and the USSR in 1941, exposed itself to lawful declarations of war against it by the U.K., France and other signatory States.

The Pact marked a major turning point in international law and established the sharpest prohibition of resort to war then known, but preserved the right of self-defence and the resort to war against a violation of the Pact. Regrettably, the word "war" opened the gate to armed conflicts that avoided the legal quality of "war". Neither did it purport to touch the right of resort to reprisals in war. Its own logic inhibited any such prohibition. Its impact upon the law of war was not immediately discernible, but by 1932 the "Stimson doctrine" of non-recognition of "any situation brought about by violation of the Pact of Paris" had emerged. This doctrine has never been accepted in international law. Events since 1932 have exposed its artificiality. But the Pact was, and is, an important step in the process towards establishing the international criminality of aggressive war. It has made an inroad upon classic conceptions of neutrality. It initiated a move which is still with us but forms no part of the law, namely, to deny certain rights under the law of war to an aggressor belligerent, e.g., the extensive rights accorded to an occupant of enemy territory, and a denial of title to territory acquired by illegal use of armed force, which is to-day a part of international law.

The Charter of the U.N. of 1945 prohibited not only the use of force by States but also the threat of such use. By Art. 2(4) "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the U.N." This prohibition is subject to the preservation "of the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence..." contained in Art. 51. The primary purpose of the U.N. Organization is to maintain international peace and security. The primary responsibility for this has been imposed upon the Security Council and removed from the periphery of individual States or regional organizations of States. The Security Council, for this function, has the power to impose legal obligations upon Member States, subject to the unanimity of the permanent members of the Council unless they all abstain or decline to vote. A "Great Power" pentarchy exists for the five permanent members of the Council, but concert among them does not. This has led to improvised methods of maintaining the peace, such as the "Uniting for Peace Resolution of the General Assembly", of 1950, operating only by way of recommendation to the U.N. Members.

Such is our latest project for perpetual peace, no longer exclusively European, but one in which Europe played a major part. Its effects upon the modern law of war are still being worked out. The criminality of aggressive war was established in the I.M.T., Nuremberg, (London) Agreement of 1945, before the Charter came into force. The classical law of neutrality remains in attenuated form to the extent that it is not eroded by the Charter provisions, e.g., where the Security Council imposes obligations upon Members to act in a manner not consistent with neutrality against an aggressor State, not a very likely event. One impact of the Pact of Paris and of the U.N. Charter upon the law of war was to cause doubt whether that law remained binding on all belligerents irrespective of which belligerent was the aggressor. This question caused much concern to jurists in the post-World War II era. There is a consensus among jurists that the Grotian principle that the law of war binds all belligerents alike, irrespective of the legality of their initial resort to war, stands firm. The supporting grounds are humanity and policy. Today the law of war is, in purpose and content, essentially humanitarian. A violation of the law of war by an aggressor belligerent is an aggravation of its original breach of the law. The victim of the aggression remains bound by the law of war.

CONCLUSIONS

What shall be said at the end of the day ?

(i) Man's quest for a perpetual peace project is not likely to cease as long as wars are likely.

(ii) In theoretical writings, diplomacy, and in international organization based on international law, there has been a depressing poverty of thinking about projects for perpetual peace, either in originality or in effectiveness, from the time of the Greeks.

(iii) The attempt to mould the content or the application of the *jus in bello* by the *jus ad bellum* has in time past been disastrous and is no less likely to have the like result now or in the future.

(iv) The law of war must, as a matter of humanity and policy, bind all belligerents alike without regard to the lawfulness or otherwise of their initial resort to armed force.

(v) The argument whereby crimes against peace (aggression) were seen as the occasion for the commission of massive war criminality has led to attempts to deny the benefit and protection of the law of war to aggressor belligerents. It must be resisted in the interests of humanity, which colour the whole of that law. All law is made, in the last resort, for the benefit of mankind.

(vi) Devices such as the U.N. Charter prohibiting the use or threat of force must not be allowed to hinder development of the law of war on the ground that such an endeavour might diminish public confidence in the endeavour of the U.N. Charter to limit the resort to armed force.

(vii) Man would be well advised to make a close study of his own nature in seeking the causes of war, and to frame future perpetual peace schemes in the light of his discoveries about himself.

(viii) The solution of the continuing resort to armed force lies in the nature of man. Until that nature can be understood and mastered, the

international community would be well advised to acquaint the citizenry of the governments of the world with the knowledge that their governments have accepted legally binding restraints upon resort to armed force, the violation of which is a criminal offence of the utmost gravity.

(ix) The main causes of wars are ignorance and suspicion, with the latter fed by the former. Individuals responsible for aggressive war are exposed to the supreme penalty of death.

(x) The establishment of permanent peace does not lie outside human capacities, but to imagine that such establishment can be achieved by simple and swift solutions is a fool's dream.

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The Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross

COMMENTARY

by **Jean Pictet**

(continued)

Red Cross practice

The principle of proportionality, though it would seem self-evident, is nevertheless difficult to apply fully in real life, where it encounters numerous obstacles.

Let us take some real examples from the Red Cross world. During the Second World War, the ICRC transported and distributed in prisoner-of-war camps of certain countries vast quantities of relief packages it received from the countries of origin of the prisoners. It accepted this task since it was a good thing for at least part of the victims to receive assistance. There were also however many prisoners who received nothing at all, because their countries were powerless to act. The ICRC then tried to arrange for some of the packages addressed to the more fortunate prisoners to be delivered to those in greatest need. The donors sometimes agreed to this, but doing so was nevertheless exceptional and affected only a small proportion of the total shipments.

We should also note that the National Red Cross Societies, during the same conflict, sent packages almost exclusively to their own countrymen detained by the enemy. They seldom thought of providing relief to prisoners of enemy nationality interned on their own territory, even

though this would have been easier to do in material terms. It would indeed have conformed very well with the spirit of the Red Cross to have given help to captives of enemy nationality.

The National Societies know very well how difficult it is to collect money for the benefit of victims outside their own frontiers. They commonly encounter the objection, "Take care of our own people first, and the foreigners later," for this form of national egoism is very widespread. Furthermore, when the National Society is able to purchase relief commodities, they are told they must favour local merchants, on the argument that money coming from the country should be spent in the country even if the products cost twice as much as they would elsewhere.

Another problem results from the fact that when neutrals help the people of a country at war they want to do so on the basis of this or that feeling of personal affinity, whether of a sentimental or practical nature. So it is that people of a given profession are ready to help others of the same profession; young people to help other young people; a political party those who sympathize with it; the followers of a religion, people of the same faith. This is only human. As in the case of assistance within a family, each one takes care of those who depend upon him, or those for whom he feels responsibilities, leaving it to others to act in the same way with regard to other groups.

In like manner, help is given more readily and more generously to inhabitants of nearby regions if, for example, they are victims of a disaster. This results from the fact that man is naturally inclined to be moved only by the kind of suffering he can see and touch, for this is what arouses his pity and his sense of solidarity. Without the magnifying glass of imagination, charity tends to be short-sighted. This is like a law in physics: aid given by the public is in inverse proportion to the square of the distance. Consequently, in a poor continent, there are only the poor to help those who are still more poor; in a rich region, there are only the rich to help those who are less rich.¹

As an example let us consider the magnificent display of solidarity which followed the catastrophe in Fréjus, a little town in the south of France virtually destroyed by the collapse of a dam. The sum received was enormous, some millions of francs, for the two or three thousand

¹ As we shall see, the development of modern means of information has had the effect of making of geographical distance a less important factor than it used to be.

victims for whom new homes were built. Very good, but at the same time an ICRC delegate returned from the Far East with a report on the misery suffered by hundreds of thousands of displaced persons. An appeal was launched on their behalf at the same time as the appeal for the Frejus victims—but only a ridiculously small amount was collected.

Even if everyone were to concern himself with helping his neighbour, there are unhappily people who have no true neighbours, people with whom no one is concerned. That is one of the things the Red Cross exists for ! It acts to restore the balance, seeking donations for those who otherwise receive nothing. It is the Red Cross which says to those in misery: we love you because no one loves you, we love you because there are those who hate you.

It is therefore important for the public to give its confidence to the Red Cross and support it regularly, without specifying a particular allocation of its donations, allowing it to make distributions based upon needs alone, which it is in a position to know and compare. Unfortunately, however, the public gives only “when the iron is hot” and it is impelled to act by the power of its emotion.

We must therefore provide more and better information, as indicated in the very early days of the Red Cross by Madame de Gasparin, a great humanitarian figure, who wrote: *In the past, news moved at a very deliberate rate; what happened at the other end of the world reached us only a year later. If blood had been spilled, the earth had long since absorbed it; if tears had been shed, the sun had had time to dry them. Pain which did not cry out within earshot left our hearts unmoved.* Gustave Moynier, one of the founders of the Red Cross, had this to say, *In our time, we find out every day what is happening everywhere in the world... time no longer intervenes to dull our impression... The description, provided by the daily newspapers... in a sense places before the very eyes of the reader the men dying on the battlefields, and he can hear with his own ears, along with cheering over a victory, the groans of the poor mutilated victims in the ambulances.*

These striking comments are even more true today, a century later, when the world has “shrunk” so much through the rapidity of transport, telecommunications and information by radio and television. The result is that our “neighbours” may now be “far away”; multitudes of people, suffering, everywhere in the world.

We have to regard this as a great improvement for the distressed, first of all because it means that we shall all know more quickly and better about the suffering of people—and secondly because help can reach them more quickly. Above all it, means that the more fortunate people, those who are well off and have full stomachs, can no longer avoid knowing about those in distress—for these will haunt them and bring such shame upon them that it will be unendurable, to such a point that they will finally have to open their wallets in order to be able to sleep in peace.

Better information is also attended by a certain degree of danger however, the danger of saturating the public's mind and dulling its sensitivity—in a sense “vaccinating” it against appeals to its generosity.

Other circumstances may lead to establish some nuances in the principle of proportionality. Let us take an example from everyday life. Let us suppose you come out of your apartment and find two beggars outside the door. If you are in a hurry, you give each of them the same amount. But, if you have time to stop and look at the two men you can see that one of them is old, and you decide that he should have more. But, even though the other one is young, he has only one arm. Isn't he more deserving of your pity? If you have more time, time enough to listen to them, you discover that the older man is a refugee, that he is all alone in the world—but that the younger one has children to care for. We could multiply to infinity the number of reasons for favouring one or the other. To give equally to each of them is a good deed, though falling short of a more attentive, more appropriate assistance. Making distinctions in relieving suffering is a hard thing to do, calling for a great deal of effort, time and, let us say it, a great deal of love.

While an individual making an effort to be fair will enter into the details of individual cases—so long as there are not too many of them—it is impossible for an institution to do this in rendering collective assistance, especially when it is an international operation, for it simply does not have the time nor the personnel that would be needed to do so.

If we have only a single dose of serum for two sick people, we do not divide it between them, for neither would be cured. However painful, we would have to make a choice, to give to one or the other. In the same way, speaking more generally, it is not always either possible or desirable to divide relief supplies endlessly. To be effective, relief must often be

given completely, and over a period of time. It is better then to carry out a charitable action fully, for a limited group of people, than to spread limited resources over a great number of places, none of which will receive enough.

Here we touch upon a truth referred to in the introduction, the fact that the principles have a theoretical character. In practice, we cannot always take them literally. But, although their value may be relative, it is nevertheless very great, for it shows the ideal that we must continue to approach.

Philosophical considerations

Under the previous heading, we raised the philosophical problem of equality and inequality among men by discussing their equality. We shall now take up the other aspect, that of *inequality*.

Ever since the end of the 18th century, it has been recognized that the wealth of the world should not serve to benefit only a handful of privileged people. It came to be recognized as well that suffering, poverty, disease and ignorance need not be the inevitable lot of the great mass of individuals. This gave rise to the demand for everyone to have a share in the common heritage, a place in the sun, his share of happiness.

It was also understood that an effort to create complete equality among men would be nonsensical, in view of the multitude of differences between them; that it would be absurd to think that everyone could have everything and live in an earthly paradise. The quest was therefore undertaken for a reasonable compromise, one which would offer everyone a minimum of benefits, to the extent that what each one demanded for himself he would be prepared to recognize as the right of others. It is in these terms that we refer to equality of treatment or the vital minimum of human requirements.

Yet men have fundamentally different needs, either because of their own individual natures or because the events of their lives have broken up the equality among them. Equity will tend to restore the balance. To bring men back to the level of equality means to attend with the utmost efficacy and at the outset to the needs of those who are most deprived, that is, to allocate assistance in proportion to the distress. Thus, we can only remedy an inequality in the situation by means of an inequality in the providing of benefits.

Let us take an example completely outside the Red Cross world, that of public taxation. There was a time when only the poor paid taxes. This crying injustice was indeed a major source of the revolutionary movements at the end of the 18th century. Does equity require then that everyone should pay the same amount in taxes? Certainly not, for there has been universal acceptance of the principle of proportionality. Thus, everyone pays taxes in proportion to what he earns and to what he owns. Going even beyond this, a system of progression is now applied, whereby the rich contribute more than a proportional share to the revenue of the State, on the ground that the more a person's resources exceed the vital minimum, the more surplus he has and the more heavily he can be taxed. In this instance we have taken into account a just reason based on economic considerations.

The principle of non-discrimination previously discussed cannot be considered in an absolute sense, for corrective factors must be applied to it. There are distinctions which it is legitimate and even necessary to make. In the field which now concerns us, these distinctions are founded upon varying degrees of suffering, on needs and natural weaknesses—and on these alone. Accordingly, distinctions will be made in favour of some individuals in order to prevent or overcome inequalities resulting from these factors. This is why the Red Cross, not contenting itself with being equalitarian, works actively towards equalization.

3. IMPARTIALITY

Commentary

While it was not particularly appropriate to have classified the principles of non-discrimination and of proportionality under the same heading, it was incorrect to have given this heading the designation of *Impartiality*, for this is a personal quality of an individual called upon to make a judgement or choice, or for “the man from the Red Cross” to distribute relief or give care. Impartiality, correctly construed, manifests itself in applying established rules, recognized as valid, without taking sides, either for reasons of interest or sympathy. For the Red Cross, these rules are, specifically, the three principles we have already considered—

humanity, non-discrimination and proportionality—constituting the substantive principles.

With impartiality, we enter into another series of three principles, in which we shall also find neutrality and independence, which we have designated as derivative principles, whose purpose is to assure the Red Cross of the confidence of all parties, which is indispensable to it. Here we are no longer in the field of objectives but rather in that of ways and means.

The Proclamation repeated the error which the Red Cross had made even in its early days of confusing impartiality with non-discrimination among men. In doing so, it took for the principle itself the manner of applying it. Non-discrimination is the outcome of the idea of equality among men, which in turn results from philosophical considerations on the nature of the human species. It is concerned with the very object of the action, men who are suffering. Impartiality, in contrast, is a quality required of the agents whose responsibility it is to act for the benefit of those who are suffering. If they do not observe this impartiality, they violate the trust accorded to them.

One might also say that the principle of non-discrimination discounts the objective distinctions between individuals. The principle of impartiality sets aside the subjective distinctions. To provide examples: if a charitable organization withholds its assistance from a specific category of individuals (let us say for reasons of race for instance), it is violating the principle of non-discrimination. On the other hand, if one of its representatives discriminates in favour of one of his friends against other persons, or discriminates against someone whom he dislikes, he is violating the principle of impartiality.

It is indeed a certainty that once the principle of non-discrimination has been postulated and accepted, the principle of impartiality, in itself, no longer has the same importance. This does not imply however that we should renounce giving specific expression to it, for partiality is not above-board, but underhand. Impartiality does in fact correspond to the very ideal of the Red Cross, which bars it from excluding anyone from its humanitarian concern.

The authors of the Proclamation did not preserve the idea of impartiality as a principle in its own right, or at least they considered that it was already provided for. In 1955, it had read as follows, *The Red Cross*

*will act without favour or prejudice towards or against anyone.*¹ One might say, perhaps with greater exactitude, “Agents of the Red Cross will act...”.

In defining impartiality, it is essential to revert to the word “partial” from which it originates. Partial means taking sides for or against something on the basis either of prejudice or of personal preference. We encounter both of these elements in the contrary word “impartial”, but the negation applies only to the motivation. Thus we cannot say someone who does not act is impartial—for this would be confusing impartiality with neutrality—but we can say that he is impartial who, in taking action, does so without prejudice.

Impartiality presupposes that a man called upon to take action has sufficient freedom. This freedom has a double nature, on the one hand it is freedom vis-à-vis himself and on the other, freedom vis-à-vis the outside world. In the latter sense, freedom refers to independence, which we shall discuss in another chapter. Interior freedom is perhaps even more difficult to achieve than freedom from external influences, since passion, psychic complexes and preconceived ideas influence human behaviour and, what is especially serious, do so mostly when we are unaware of the fact. Emphasizing the difficulty of impartiality, Goethe wrote in his Aphorisms, *I can promise to be sincere, but not to be impartial.*

Impartiality requires a precise, complete and objective examination of the problems facing us and an exact assessment of the values entailed. It calls for a sustained effort to “depersonalize” the charitable action—and will sometimes be the fruit of victory in a hard-fought struggle within oneself.

The risk of partiality is present above all in cases of civil war, internal disorders or political tensions. In such conflicts, one knows one’s adversaries only too well and one has personal reasons for detesting them. This is so true that as late as 1912 an International Red Cross Conference refused to discuss the problem of assistance to the victims of civil wars, after one of the delegates had remarked that “The Red Cross can certainly have no duties to perform with respect to insurgents, who cannot be regarded as anything but criminals”. Since then, fortunately, the Inter-

¹ J. Pictet: *Red Cross Principles*.

national Red Cross Conferences have arrived at a healthier and wiser conception of the institution's principles.

Within the borders of its country, a National Red Cross Society gives its assistance to all who suffer. Guilty persons themselves are not excluded from this assistance if they have need of it, a fact which has sometimes not been well understood. The Red Cross does not however interfere in any way with the administration of justice; its action does not run counter to the essential right of a state to suppress violations of its laws. What the Red Cross does demand is that each person shall be humanely treated; if the individual is guilty, he will be sentenced by the courts, but he must have the benefit of decent treatment and receive the care required to maintain his health.

To conclude this section, we shall relate one of a thousand possible real-life anecdotes which dramatically illustrates that the Red Cross ideal, even in the most complex and contradictory situations, can prevail against all odds. In a country ravaged by civil war, the chief prosecutor had arrested one of the leaders of the revolution. In reprisal, the revolutionary movement set a price on the head of the chief prosecutor. The Red Cross Society in this country received an appeal for help—to go and pick up a seriously wounded person in the fighting zone. The Society did not hesitate, but immediately despatched an ambulance to the spot and saved the life of the wounded man. Who was the wounded man? He was the son of the revolutionary leader who had been arrested. Who was driving the ambulance? It was the wife of the chief prosecutor, who had ordered the arrest of the young man's father. *Omnia vincit amor*.¹

¹ Love conquers all (Virgil).

III

NEUTRALITY

In order to continue to enjoy the confidence of all, the Red Cross may not take sides in hostilities or engage at any time in controversies of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature.

General observations

The 1955 text read, *The Red Cross must observe strict neutrality in the military, political, denominational and philosophical spheres.*¹

No idea in the Red Cross world has created more confusion than neutrality, for the word has a range of different meanings. Before analyzing these meanings, some general considerations should be noted.

The word “neutral” comes from the Latin “neuter” meaning neither one of two things. In this sense it is essentially a negative idea; one is neutral who does not take sides in a conflict.

Neutrality does not in itself have any ethical value and can thus be assessed only in relation to particular circumstances. It takes on a moral aspect, and can even achieve nobility when it arises from the kind of firm determination which makes it possible for an institution to put its fundamental principles into effect and carry out its mission faithfully—which is precisely the case with the Red Cross.

On the general level, the idea of neutrality pre-supposes two elements: an attitude of abstention and the existence of persons or groups who

¹ J. Pictet: Red Cross Principles.

oppose one another. Although neutrality defines the attitude of the Red Cross towards belligerents and ideologies, it never determines its behaviour towards the human beings who suffer because, in the first place, the wounded do not fight one another. And, above all, the essential characteristic of the Red Cross is to act and not to remain passive.¹

Neutrality and impartiality have often been confused with one another because both imply the existence of groups or theories in opposition and because both call for a certain degree of reserve. The two ideas are nevertheless very different, for the neutral man refuses to make a judgement whereas the one who is impartial judges a situation in accordance with pre-established rules.

Neutrality demands real self-control; it is indeed a form of discipline we impose upon ourselves, a brake applied to the impulsive urges of our feelings. A man who follows this arduous path will discover that it is rare in a controversy to find that one party is completely right and the other completely wrong. He will sense the futility of the reasons commonly invoked to launch one nation into war against another. In this respect, it is reasonable to say that neutrality constitutes a first step towards peace.

While neutrality, like impartiality, is often misunderstood and rejected, this happens because there are so many who want to be both judge and party, without recourse to any universally valid criterion. Each side believes, rather naively, that his cause is the only just one; that refusal to join it is an offence against truth and justice.

Commentary

(a) Confidence

The text of this principle in the Proclamation begins with the words, "*In order to continue to enjoy the confidence of all.*" These words do not constitute a part of the principle, but merely explain the reason for it.

¹ An example familiar to Christians is in the parable of the Good Samaritan, in which the neutral figure, vis-à-vis the injured man, is the Levite who passes by, indifferent to the traveller left half dead by the bandits. The Samaritan however intervenes, even though this may be at the risk of his life.

The same words are valid as well for impartiality in its true sense, of which we have spoken, and for independence, of which we shall speak. We are confronted here by three principles which we have referred to as derivative in that they relate not to objectives but to means. They contribute to the application of the three substantive principles, the mainsprings of action, and assure the proper functioning of the institution. Confidence is vital to the Red Cross; without confidence it would no longer be entrusted with work of public utility and it would receive no more donations. If a National Society or its agents were to engage in ideological disputes, how can we imagine that it could maintain its credibility among the parties on the other side, and in case of a crisis—here we are thinking mainly of internal conflicts—how can we imagine that it would be allowed to carry out its work in the two rival camps?

Despite the foregoing remarks, these words have been subject to criticism on the ground that they are too weak and give only one of the reasons which justify neutrality. It will no doubt be desirable, in the event of a revision, to be more explicit. One might say, for example, *in order to continue to enjoy the confidence of all and to maintain its unity...*

Jean PICTET

(To be continued)

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

Distinguished visitors to ICRC

The ICRC was honoured in 1978-9 to receive several distinguished guests; they were welcomed by President Hay, together with other members of the International Committee and members of the directorate:

5 December 1978, Their Majesties King Carl Gustav and Queen Silvia of Sweden, accompanied by the Permanent Representative of Sweden in Geneva;

16 June 1979, Mr. J. C. Turbay Ayala, President of the Republic of Colombia, accompanied by Mrs. Turbay Ayala, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Defence and the Colombian Permanent Representative to Geneva;

21 June, Their Majesties King Juan Carlos and Queen Sophie of Spain, with a large retinue including the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Labour, the Spanish Ambassador and the Spanish Permanent Representative to Geneva;

3 July, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, U.N. Secretary-General, with Mr. L. Cottafavi and Mr. W. Buffum, Under Secretaries-General, and others;

11 October, Mr. Abel Alier, Second Vice-President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, with Mr. Isseldin Hamid, Minister of State, Mr. Omar Yusuf Birido, Ambassador and Permanent Representative to Geneva.

on 10 December, Mr. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, President of France, accompanied by Mr. O. Stirn, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. D. Hoeffel, Secretary of State for Health and Family

Affairs, and Mr. J.-M. Soutou, President of the French Red Cross. Mr. Hans Hürlihan, President of the Swiss Confederation, was also a guest of the ICRC during this visit.

In all these courtesy visits, the ICRC guests displayed great interest in the functions of the various ICRC departments, especially of the Central Tracing Agency.

Mr. Henrik Beer, Secretary General of the League, and several members of his staff were present during two of these visits.

Missions by the ICRC President in 1979

In 1979 Mr. Alexandre Hay, President of the ICRC, undertook missions in several countries where he had discussions on subjects of interest to the ICRC and the Red Cross in general with National Red Cross Society leaders and various government officials.

In the United Kingdom, where he went in January and in June, the President was received by Her Majesty the Queen and by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

In Cuba, in February, Mr. Hay conferred with Mr. Fidel Castro, Head of State and Government.

In Saudi Arabia, H.M. King Khaled ibn Abdul Aziz granted Mr. Hay an audience in April.

In June, on the occasion of the Eleventh Inter-American Red Cross Conference, Mr. Hay went to Paraguay where he met General Stroessner, President of the Republic, then to Brazil where he met Mr. João Baptista de Oliveira Figueiredo, President of the Federative Republic.

Also in June he went to the Federal Republic of Germany, attending the National Red Cross General Assembly in Bonn and visiting the International Tracing Service—managed by the ICRC—in Arolsen. After a stop in Berlin he continued to Poland where he attended the 60th anniversary ceremony and the 7th National Congress of the Polish Red Cross. While in Warsaw, he met Professor Henrik Jablonski, President of the State Council.

Mr. Hay, in September, took part in the Round Table meeting on international humanitarian law in San Remo (Italy) and in October in the seminar in Tunis on dissemination of knowledge of that law. In the same month he visited the UNESCO Executive Board in Paris where he was received by Mr. M. M'Bow, Director, and by members of the UNESCO Executive Board.

In November Mr. Hay went to Brussels. He visited the Belgian Red Cross and was received in audience by H.M. King Baudouin and by members of the Belgian Government.

The direct conversations held during these many missions greatly promote mutual understanding and facilitate the efforts of all kinds which the ICRC is called upon to make in the accomplishment of its humanitarian mission.

Swaziland Red Cross first visit to the ICRC

Following the ICRC decision, on 4 April 1979 to recognize the Swaziland Red Cross Society, the President, Mr. Nkosi, and the National Director, Mrs. Dlamini, of this newly recognized National Society, who had come to Geneva for the General Assembly of the League of Red Cross Societies, were received on 4 October by the ICRC's Executive Board.

It was the first visit made by the representatives of the Swaziland Red Cross to the ICRC, which had great pleasure in welcoming them and establishing personal contacts with them. The ICRC visit took place on the eve of the new National Society's admission to the League.

Monument to an ICRC delegate

On 8 September, a monument to Dr. Marcel Junod, an ICRC delegate, was unveiled at Hiroshima. The monument, a cross of granite with a medallion of Dr. Junod, was sponsored by a Hiroshima committee of the Medical Association, the Chamber of Commerce, the local branch of the Japanese Red Cross and other institutions. The ICRC was represented at the ceremony by its honorary delegate in Japan, Mr. A. Michaud.

The population of Hiroshima has retained a vivid memory of this ICRC delegate who arrived in the town on 8 September 1945 one month after the atom bomb explosion, bringing to the destroyed town and the stricken population something more than material relief; with warm-hearted dedication, as a messenger from a neutral and humanitarian institution which did not look upon them as hated enemies, Dr. Junod brought some hope to the Japanese.

The whole International Committee feels honoured by the erection of this monument to one of its delegates who so well symbolized what the ICRC strives to be for so many conflict victims.

Dr. Junod joined the ICRC in 1935. In a book « *Le troisième combattant* » he gives an account of his experience as an ICRC delegate in Abyssinia, in Spain, in several European countries during the Second World War and in Japan. He was Vice-President of the ICRC in 1959 and 1960. He died in 1961.

*EXTERNAL ACTIVITIES***Africa****Zimbabwe Rhodesia**

In September and October, the ICRC delegation in Zimbabwe Rhodesia continued its protection and assistance activities in aid of the victims of the conflict. During those two months, it distributed 541 tons of foodstuffs, 3,000 blankets, clothing, 12.5 tons of soap, and building material for huts, to a total value of 380,000 Swiss francs, to the 68,000 displaced persons throughout Rhodesia for whom the ICRC provides aid at regular intervals.

In Matabeleland Province, the ICRC distributed, in September, fifteen tons of high-protein food to 2,000 displaced persons. In the Fort Victoria district, 2.5 tons of foodstuffs and soap were given to needy persons.

The construction of more houses for displaced persons in Seki Camp, the second stage of an aid programme begun two years ago, is proceeding satisfactorily and 44 families were settled in at the beginning of September.

From additional distribution centres set up by the ICRC in Mashonaland Province, food, soap, blankets and clothing were distributed periodically to displaced families. In Mtoko District, 1,400 kg of various articles were supplied to the victims of a farm which had been burnt down by terrorists. In Victoria Province, 140 families whose houses had been set on fire received similar aid.

During September and October, the ICRC arranged for transport to carry 845 persons to visit relatives detained in Wha Wha prison. A sum of about 10,000 Swiss francs was allocated to provide aid for detainees.

The Central Tracing Agency continued its enquiries for missing persons, and new cases of missing persons have been constantly coming in. During September and October, the Agency forwarded 1,800 messages to separated family members.

Zambia

Assistance to refugees living in camps in Zambia continued during September and October. The ICRC delegation provided about 36 tons of relief supplies—food, blankets, clothing, soap and tents—to a value of 212,000 Swiss francs.

During that same period, the Tracing Agency dealt with 210 enquiries for missing persons.

Botswana

ICRC distributions of relief supplies for displaced persons continued in the camps at Francistown, Selebi Pikwe and Dukwe in September and October. About 46 tons of various goods, worth 150,000 Swiss francs, were distributed.

Mozambique

On 21 September, a Bulgarian national living in Mozambique who had been captured by the armed forces of Zimbabwe Rhodesia, was returned to Maputo under ICRC auspices, after the necessary permits had been granted by all the parties concerned.

Uganda

Completing their visits to places of detention, commenced a couple of months before, two teams of ICRC delegates visited, from 11 to 25 September, 1281 detainees in Soroti and Jinja, in Uganda's southern and south-eastern provinces.

A further series of visits to places of detention was begun on 12 October and is expected to continue until mid-November. Two teams of delegates already visited the prisons at Murchison Bay, Luzira

and Jinja and distributed certain articles of which there was a shortage, such as soap, blankets and disinfectant.

In the second half of September, the ICRC delegates went on an extensive tour of the country. They distributed medical supplies to a score of dispensaries and health centres in Soroti district and in the area between Jinja and Lake Kyoga to a value of 82,000 Swiss francs, and in Kizegi and Ankole districts to a value of 90,000 francs.

From March, when the ICRC programme was begun, until October 1, the ICRC distributed in Uganda over 68 tons of medicaments and medical supplies to a value of about 1,800,000 Swiss francs.

Angola

The Bomba Alta orthopaedic centre for war disabled at Huambo, set up with ICRC co-operation, commenced its activities in September and by the end of the month had already provided prostheses for six amputees. Seven ICRC specialists are working in this centre which is being expanded, and 17 tons of equipment were delivered on 18 October.

Ethiopia

The ICRC continued its aid in Ethiopia during September and October. Over 240 tons of various foodstuffs and articles (such as soap and blankets), cotton cloth for garments, and six medical units were distributed in the provinces of Sidamo, Tigre, Harrar, Bale and Mekele. The delegates also visited seventeen prisoners of war at Harar.

Chad

In September and October, the ICRC continued its assistance and protection activities in Chad. The delegates stationed at Faya distributed 8 tons of food for 344 prisoners of war at Kirdimi, Faya and Fada and visited 211 prisoners of war in the region of Youda and at Gouro, Kirdimi, Digre, Gourma, Yenne and Fada. The delegates in N'Djamena distributed 62 tons of various relief supplies to civilians in the south, while nine hospitals and medical centres in that area were stocked with medicaments to a value of 39,000 Swiss francs. Eight tons of medicaments and medical supplies were distributed in isolated

villages at Abeche, Sarh, Mongo, Bongor, Ati, Moundou and Am Timan.

The two tracing agency offices at Faya and N'Djamena continued to forward family messages between the northern and southern parts of Chad (several thousand were exchanged in September and October) and to make enquiries about missing persons.

Western Sahara

An ICRC delegate carried out a mission in the region of Tindouf from 26 September to 1 October. He distributed 8,000 blankets to the persons in want living in camps in that area.

Latin America

Nicaragua

Throughout September and October, ICRC delegates in Nicaragua continued with their protection and assistance activities, in the prisons they are allowed to visit, in hospitals and for persons having sought asylum in embassies. During September, they visited 2709 detainees in 46 detention centres in 14 different locations. That figure includes 149 detainees who were visited in Managua, 146 being wounded detainees at Ocon hospital and 3 at secondary medical posts.

During these visits, additional food rations were distributed in the prisons; to make this possible, 30 tonnes of foodstuffs were trucked to Esteli, Ocotal, Somoto, Boaco, Juigalpa, Nuevasguinea, Rivas, Jinotepe, Granada and Masaya. Thus all of the detention centres visited received a month's food ration so that the authorities could give the detainees two meals a day.

In October, the ICRC delegates visited 1174 detainees in seven detention centres outside Managua and two hospitals and the "Comando Central de Crusero" in Managua where 197 detainees were recorded.

From 6 to 15 October, the ICRC general delegate for Latin America, Mr. André Pasquier, went to Nicaragua where he had talks with the government authorities on further ICRC activities and in particular visits to the Managua and Tipitapa detention centres.

Finally, 160 persons who had sought refuge in the "Seminario", a building under ICRC and National Red Cross protection, returned home after the ICRC had obtained assurances that their safety was guaranteed.

El Salvador

In September, the Government of El Salvador agreed to the ICRC visiting all of its prisons in accordance with ICRC criteria. The new authorities confirmed that agreement. Consequently, on 26 October, two ICRC delegates started work by visiting the new penal centre in the capital. According to plans, these visits, covering the whole country, will continue for 6 to 7 weeks.

The ICRC also managed to obtain a safe conduct for a wounded soldier who had sought asylum in the Venezuelan embassy. He has thus managed to leave the country for Venezuela.

Argentina

In Argentina, visits to detention centres involving interviews without witnesses have continued. ICRC delegates visited 815 prisoners in eight detention centres in Buenos Aires, Cordoba, Coronda, Concordia, Parana, Rawson, Santa Fé and Villa Devoto. The programme of assistance to the families of detainees continued with 800 families receiving regular monthly relief supplies, mainly food.

Chile

The ICRC regional delegate for the Southern Cone, Mr. François Robadey, visited 57 detainees at the Santiago jail when he made one of his periodic trips to Chile on 27 September.

Asia

Assistance to the people of Kampuchea

Following upon the preliminary assessment and negotiation missions to Kampuchea by ICRC and UNICEF representatives (see *International Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1979), the ICRC and UNICEF have launched a

vast joint relief programme to provide food, drugs and other basic requirements. This relief aid is meant to reach about 2.5 million persons, 700,000 of whom are children or sick persons whose plight in Kampuchea and in the Khmer-Thai frontier zone is critical.

On 19 October, an appeal was made for 111 million dollars to finance the first six months of this joint action; then a further 140 million dollars was requested so that assistance to civilians of Kampuchea could be continued and expanded until the end of 1980, the latter request being made at the "Pledging Conference for Emergency Humanitarian Relief for the Kampuchean People" which was convened in New York on 5 November by the UN Secretary-General.

Mention should be made of the fact that the General Assembly of the League of Red Cross Societies, held in Geneva from 4 to 6 October and attended by the representatives of 101 National Societies, appealed to the international community to support relief work for the people of Kampuchea and to prevent any obstacles to this urgent humanitarian activity.

Also in October, the ICRC and the League jointly called on National Societies to recruit the medical staff necessary for this campaign.

Kampuchea

On 17 November, the authorities of the People's Republic of Kampuchea gave their clearance to the ICRC/UNICEF joint relief programme. Before that, from 9 August to 14 October, seven flights from Europe had carried 233 tonnes of relief supplies to Phnom Penh. Then, from 13 October to 18 November, a plane provided by the British Government, flew daily from Bangkok to Phnom Penh carrying a total of 485 tonnes of relief and basic logistic supplies. Since 18 November, an Australian Government plane has taken over from the British plane to run the daily Bangkok/Phnom Penh shuttle service. On 22 November, it was joined by a French plane. Yet another plane, provided by the Netherlands Government and Red Cross and UNICEF Committee has, since 25 November, been flying daily between Singapore and Phnom Penh. In addition, a ship, carrying 1000 tonnes of rice and three trucks arrived at the port of Kompong Som on 25 October, followed immediately by another ship carrying 4000 tonnes of rice and unloading tackle. Once agreement had been reached with the authorities, the Mekong was opened to navigation so that UNICEF and the ICRC could move the supplies directly to the capital of Kampuchea. The

first ship, carrying UNICEF/ICRC goods, which followed that route—the “Île de Lumière”—which had been provided by a voluntary French committee, reached Phnom Penh with 1000 tonnes of food and drugs on 19 November. In this way, the ICRC/UNICEF target of supplying 10,000 tonnes of relief supplies to Kampuchea in October and 20,000 tonnes in November was reached.

Now the ICRC/UNICEF delegation in Phnom Penh comprises 14 persons. The distribution of supplies is being carried out under the responsibility of an interministerial committee set up for the purpose by the Phnom Penh authorities. However, the shortage of vehicles, the state of the roads and various organizational problems being faced by the local authorities mean that the supplies are getting through far more slowly than is necessary to meet the requirements and to keep pace with the deliveries which the international organizations are making to the country's ports.

Thailand

In September, Kampuchean refugees started to flood in all along the Khmer-Thai border. The Thai military authorities have set up reception camps in Thailand for the refugees pouring in by the thousands each day. By early November, it was estimated that there were 500,000 to 600,000 Kampuchean civilians along the Thai border. Many were sick and suffering from malnutrition.

Many humanitarian organizations are at work among the refugees in Thailand. General responsibility for refugees in Thailand has been assumed by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (HCR). The ICRC and UNICEF have assumed special tasks.

In the border zone, where conditions are extremely unsafe, the ICRC and the UNICEF provide the necessary food and water supplies and this calls for a tremendous logistic effort. During October alone, 1300 tonnes of relief was distributed to the refugees in that area. In the same border zone, the ICRC has also been using trucks and buses to pick up exhausted, sick or wounded refugees and to take them to the camps which they could not have reached unaided.

The ICRC is also co-ordinating medical activities in the camps with the extensive participation of voluntary organizations and National Societies.

In the Sa Kaeo camp, which shelters 30,000 refugees, the ICRC has opened a field hospital with 3000 beds while in the Kao I Dang camp

—a new transit camp with a 200,000 refugee capacity—a field hospital with 1000 beds has been erected. The ICRC has supplied 10 tents and the whole medical equipment to a total value of 230,000 Swiss francs. Other hospitals are being planned.

By 19 November, 132 ICRC and National Red Cross Society doctors and nurses were working alongside 55 doctors and nurses from voluntary agencies. The National Red Cross Societies participating are 17 in number: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, Ireland, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, United Kingdom and USA.

The delegates of the Central Tracing Agency, working with the assistance of a large staff selected from among the refugees, are also at work in the camps. Letter boxes have been set up and the Agency sorts and forwards the mail. More than 1000 messages a week are sent abroad from the camps. The Agency has also received many hundreds of enquiries for missing persons from people outside the camps and they are making the necessary enquiries among the refugees.

Indo-Chinese refugees

The delegates from the ICRC Tracing Agency have undertaken many missions to the ASEAN countries to back up the work being done by the Central Tracing Agency and the agency offices of National Red Cross Societies to help the refugees (tracing missing persons and transmitting messages). Contacts have been stepped up with the authorities and the leaders of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies in Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Macao. On 6 and 7 September a study group and work co-ordination session was held in Kuala Lumpur for representatives of the Societies concerned.

Indonesia

The joint activities of the ICRC and the Indonesian Red Cross to assist 60,000 inhabitants of East Timor began on 8 October with the arrival in Dili, the capital of East Timor, of a plane chartered by the ICRC, carrying 17 tonnes of food and drugs. On 21 October, a ship unloaded 640 tonnes of relief supplies in the same place, along with 7 vehicles. At the same time, Indonesian Red Cross medical teams, assisted by the ICRC, started to prepare a census of the population in the

eight isolated villages on which the relief activities are to concentrate and to assess their state of health in order to determine their food and drug requirements. Distribution started on 19 October. Only two villages can be reached by road all year round so that supplies to the other sites have to be effected partially or wholly by air.

Governments and National Red Cross Societies to which the ICRC made an appeal for funds responded favourably and provided almost the totality of the 13 million Swiss francs necessary for this campaign which is limited to six months.

Pakistan/Bangladesh

The transfer of persons of Bihari origin who had hitherto lived in Bangladesh and had expressed the wish to go to live in Pakistan continued in September. Between 14 and 26 September, 2871 persons, that is 321 families, were airlifted from Dacca to Lahore, Karachi or Peshawar.

Laos

During a visit to Vientiane, an ICRC delegate delivered to the Lao Red Cross a consignment of medical supplies (1000 litres of alcohol, 2000 litres of serum) and medical equipment worth a total of nearly 6000 dollars. This was immediately forwarded to the capital's hospitals.

Middle East

Lebanon

After the clashes between rival factions in Northern Lebanon on 8 October and the capture of partisans of the opposing camps, the ICRC delegation in Beirut approached the parties concerned in order to gain access to the detainees. The delegates duly visited the detainees, 162 of whom were released on 12 October with the help of the ICRC.

Relief aid—6.5 tonnes of food, 500 blankets and some clothing—was distributed in the town of Tyre and in the nearby Palestinian camps. Powdered milk was given to certain families in three villages in the Marjayoun pocket. Furthermore, 20,000 Swiss francs worth of drugs

was handed to the Lebanese Red Cross; the "Palestinian Red Crescent" received a gift of the same value.

Israel and occupied territories

The ICRC delegates in Israel visited Arab civilian detainees throughout 1979 in detention centres in Israel and in the occupied territories.

Let us recall that, under an agreement with the Israeli authorities, ICRC delegates are authorized to visit detention centres holding Arab civilian detainees, those being held for questioning within 14 days after their arrest and detainees on whom sentence has been passed. Moreover, the ICRC pays for the transport of families who wish to visit relatives being detained but who live far from the prisons. It also supplies extra fruit parcels to all detainees. For detainees who do not receive family visits it provides a small sum of money for each detainee (currently 150 Israeli pounds) to enable him to make minor purchases at the prison canteen. It buys books and magazines for the detention camp libraries. The last-mentioned point is of particular importance for young detainees who wish to continue studying.

* * *

A number of people travelled under ICRC auspices between Israel, the occupied territories and the neighbouring countries in September and October.

During that period, three family reunions were arranged at the Kuneitra crossing point as 14 persons crossed from Syria to Golan. On 13 September, 29 students went from Golan to Syria and four more on 28 October.

On 14 September, five sailors (3 Lebanese and 2 Indians) and on 3 October, one more person, were escorted from Israel to Lebanon.

On 11 October, a released Arab detainee was transferred from Israel to Jordan and a further person on 23 October.

Jordan

A team of ICRC delegates visited, from 8 to 29 October, the detention centres in Jordan, holding 2588 detainees.

Egypt

Mr. Jean Hoefliger, ICRC general delegate for the Middle East, carried out a mission to Egypt from 25 October to 7 November, during which he had discussions with Mr. Boutros Ghali, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, senior officials of the same Ministry and with the Minister of Social Affairs. The general delegate was also received by Mrs. Jihane Sadat, President of the Egyptian Red Crescent, with whom he discussed mainly humanitarian problems in the Sinai region, which had recently been returned to the Egyptian administration.

Award of the Henry Dunant Medal

During the meeting of the Council of Delegates in Geneva, on 3 October 1979, the Henry Dunant Medal was awarded to:

Mr. G. Aitken of the Canadian Red Cross,
Mrs. L. Barry, of the Irish Red Cross.
Sir G. Newman-Morris, of the Australian Red Cross,
Mrs. M. A. van Overeem-Ziegenhardt, of the Netherlands Red Cross.

The Medal was also awarded posthumously to:

Mr. Louis Gaulis, ICRC delegate, killed in Lebanon in 1978;
Mr. Alain Biéri, ICRC delegate,
Mr. André Tièche, ICRC delegate,
Mr. Charles Chatora, local employee of the ICRC,
all three of whom were killed in Rhodesia-Zimbabwe in 1978;
Mr. Marvin Flores Salazar,
Mr. José Estrada Granizo,
first-aiders of the Nicaraguan Red Cross.

A special tribute was paid to the Nicaraguan National Society which, in the course of the recent events in that country, mourned the loss of seventeen of its members, most of them voluntary first-aiders.

The Henry Dunant Medal was instituted by the Twentieth International Red Cross Conference in Vienna in 1965. It is awarded in recognition of exceptional service and dedication to the Red Cross cause by members irrespective of their position in the movement. The award is made every two years, in principle to a maximum of five persons.

The first presentation of the Henry Dunant Medal was in 1969, during the Twenty-first International Red Cross Conference at Istanbul. In all, twenty-eight medals have been awarded, ten of them posthumously.

MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF DELEGATES

The Council of Delegates, comprising representatives of the ICRC, the League and the National Societies, met in Geneva on 3 October, under the chairmanship of Mr. Alexandre Hay, ICRC President. The Council adopted the following resolutions:

RESOLUTION 1

Re-appraisal of the role of the Red Cross

The Council of Delegates,

mindful of Resolution II of the Twenty-third International Red Cross Conference on the “Re-appraisal of the Role of the Red Cross”,

takes note of the report presented by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies,

approves the constitution of the three joint ICRC-League working groups on:

- assistance
- National Society development, and
- information,

recommends all National Societies to continue the re-appraisal process initiated by the Study, particularly by analysing their own strengths and weaknesses both in their organisations and in their activities, and by drawing practical conclusions,

considers that the ICRC and the League should continue their reflection as part and parcel of their normal activities, taking the Study as a helpful guide.

RESOLUTION 2

Ratifications and accessions to the Protocols additional

The Council of Delegates,

recalling the resolution on “the Geneva Conventions and the additional Protocols”, adopted by the XXIIIrd International Conference of the Red Cross, and which “expresses the wish that the additional Protocols be signed and ratified, or acceded to, as soon as possible, so that they become as universally accepted as the Geneva Conventions”,

noting that the additional Protocols, which were signed by some sixty States, have thus far received some ten ratifications or accessions,

convinced that the international community by adopting on 8 June 1977 the two additional Protocols gave expression to its earnest desire to relieve the suffering caused by armed conflicts and to protect the civilian population against their evils whenever such situations still occur,

having heard the report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on its activities with a view to promoting the ratification of, or accession to, the Protocols,

aware that ratification of, or accession to, the Protocols requires careful consideration by the responsible authorities,

1. reaffirms the goal that the two additional Protocols become as universally accepted as the Geneva Conventions,
2. commends the International Committee of the Red Cross for its endeavours towards the realization of this goal, and invites it to continue its efforts in this respect,
3. urges the National Red Cross (Red Crescent, Red Lion and Sun) Societies in States which have not yet ratified or acceded to the Protocols, where necessary in co-operation with the International Committee and the League, to do their utmost to speed up the requisite procedures in their respective countries with a view to seeing the ratification of, or accession to, the Protocols achieved as soon as possible.

RESOLUTION 3

Dissemination of international humanitarian law and Red Cross principles and ideals

The Council of Delegates,

having read with interest the ICRC and League report on the dissemination of international humanitarian law and of the principles and ideals of the Red Cross, and having read also with interest the programme of action for dissemination,

adopts that report,

congratulates the ICRC, the League and the Henry Dunant Institute for establishing the said programme of action,

encourages National Societies to give their support to efforts to achieve the objectives of the programme of action,

notes with satisfaction the constitution and the activity of a Working Group of experts to assist and advise Red Cross institutions in the application of the programme of action,

asks the ICRC, the League and the working group to continue their efforts for the dissemination of international humanitarian law and the principles and ideals of the Red Cross and to report thereon to the next Council of Delegates in accordance with the spirit of Resolution VII of the Twenty-third International Conference of the Red Cross.

RESOLUTION 4

Peace and disarmament

The Council of Delegates,

calling to mind the mission of the Red Cross as defined in Resolution I of the 23rd International Conference of the Red Cross,

re-affirming that the Red Cross as a universal humanitarian movement cannot be indifferent to the key problems of the modern world and is called upon to contribute to their solution within the scope of its mission,

being convinced that recognition and dissemination of humanitarian principles and ideals help to solve the problems of peace and disarmament,

1. *expresses* its solidarity with the efforts of nations and governments to consolidate and strengthen international peace and to curb the arms race,

2. *welcomes* all further endeavours which give satisfaction to all parties concerned and reduce the threat of war by disarmament,

3. *calls upon* the League, the ICRC and National Societies to take practical measures to implement the programme of action of the Red Cross as a factor of peace and the resolutions adopted by the international statutory bodies of the Red Cross on the promotion of the cause of peace,

4. *calls upon* the League, the ICRC and National Societies to co-operate more closely in their respective activities with institutions and organizations working for international peace,

5. *calls upon* the League, the ICRC and National Societies to acquaint public opinion with the efforts of the Red Cross to promote international peace.

RESOLUTION 5

Development of the activities of the Henry Dunant Institute

The Council of Delegates,

having considered the report of the Henry Dunant Institute on its activities since the XXIIIrd International Red Cross Conference (Bucharest, October 1977),

takes note thereof and expresses its appreciation of the work carried out by the Institute with modest resources,

pays an earnest tribute to Mr. Jean Pictet for the signal service he has rendered as director of the Henry Dunant Institute since 1975, thereby contributing to the Institute's development and influence, and expresses to him its profound gratitude for his work,

underlines the role of the Henry Dunant Institute as an instrument for Red Cross study, research, training, teaching and dissemination available to all members of the International Red Cross,

asks the Henry Dunant Institute to continue and intensify its efforts in its fundamental tasks, namely:

- by developing its research into various aspects of past and present activities of the Red Cross in time of peace and of war, with a view to reaching practical conclusions for the development of the movement's activities,

- by encouraging the periodical organisation of courses, lectures on the Red Cross for the benefit of leaders and senior staff of National Societies as well as seminars on International Humanitarian Law, more particularly for the benefit of public servants, diplomats, University professors and students,

- by disseminating the results of its work as widely as possible, thereby contributing to make the Red Cross better known within and without the Red Cross,

recommends the Institute to intensify its co-operation with the National Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun Societies, and also recommends the National Societies to give support to the activities of the Institute and to provide it, to the extent they can afford, with the material means that will enable it to expand its action.

* * *

On several of its agenda items, the Council of Delegates did not adopt resolutions.

It took note of an interim report on the promotion of the Red Cross image dealing with the International Red Cross concept and the setting up of a joint ICRC-League audio-visual centre.

A document on torture reviewed the scope for Red Cross action in the struggle to eliminate that scourge: visits to detainees and reporting on detention conditions. The same document discussed existing legal instruments (Geneva Conventions, Universal Declaration of Human Rights) and draft conventions currently being considered with a view to banning torture.

The President of the ICRC, as chairman of the working group on the emblem, a group whose founding was decided upon during the Twenty-

third International Red Cross Conference (Bucharest, 1977), reported orally. Consultation of the National Societies has been undertaken by means of a questionnaire. The commission will continue its work.

The struggle against racial discrimination was also brought to the Council's attention. It was reminded that everything undertaken by the Red Cross contributed to the struggle against all forms of discrimination.

The Council's attention was drawn to the Maurice de Madre French Fund (see *International Review* of the Red Cross, Jan.-Feb., 1979). The National Societies were informed of the conditions under which they could apply to the Fund.

The Council did reach some decisions worth noting even though they were not the subject of a formally adopted text:

1. *Commission on the Red Cross and Peace*

The Commission's report was adopted. The Commission, whose composition remained unchanged, was extended until the Twenty-fourth International Red Cross Conference (Manila, 1981). Its terms of reference were also unchanged, but the Commission is authorized to decide precisely the tasks covered by its terms of reference.

2. *Duration of Council of Delegate meetings*

The International Red Cross Standing Commission was requested to examine the following proposal: the duration of a meeting of the Council of Delegates between Conferences shall be at least two days.

3. *Assistance to the families of Red Cross personnel who die in the course of their duties*

The Council urged the ICRC and the League to make proposals to National Societies with a view to assistance from the movement as a whole to the families of Nicaraguan Red Cross personnel who lost their lives in Red Cross service during the recent fighting in that country. The activities of the fund of which the creation is envisaged would not, incidentally, be confined to Nicaragua.

CENTENARY OF THE PERUVIAN RED CROSS

In the October 1879 issue of the *Bulletin international de la Croix-Rouge*, the ICRC printed an item of news under the heading « South America—the Red Cross makes progress », in which it announced that the Geneva Convention had been signed on 2 May by the Peruvian Government and that Chile had acceded to the Convention on 28 June.

In 1879, Peru and Chile were at war. The ICRC, therefore, saw with satisfaction that, during the hostilities, the provisions of the 1864 Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in the Field would be observed. It went on to say: “We had given some hints to our readers of a likely extension of the Red Cross on the American continent and were happy that it should be so, because, so far, it had not managed to obtain a foothold there . . . And yet, many attempts had been made . . .”

Shortly after the Peruvian Government had signed the Convention, the ICRC was informed that a Red Cross Society had been founded in Peru, on 17 April 1879.

Later, in a letter dated 3 March 1880, the President of the Central Committee of the Red Cross Ambulances of Peru asked the ICRC to incorporate it into the Red Cross movement. The letter very briefly summarized the society's activities. A short passage from the letter is given here, because it is characteristic of a situation which has frequently been observed elsewhere: “The Central Committee of Peru has already got together four civilian ambulances, which are presently in the theatre of war and have rendered signal service to the wounded of the belligerent countries. As there has been some delay in getting ready the military ambulance service recently formed by the Peruvian Government, all the burden of the service in both military and civilian hospitals has been placed on the shoulders of the civilian ambulances, which have also followed the army to provide aid during the engagements . . .”

The ICRC announced its recognition of the new society and stated, in a circular to the "Central Committees of relief to wounded soldiers", dated 8 May 1880, "After a period of three years during which no new Red Cross society had been created, we have pleasure to announce to you that a new society has just been formed in Peru. So far there had been none in America; we therefore welcome the foundation of the Peruvian Society, which heralds the dawn of an era of development for our work in that part of the world.

It has been observed that every outbreak of hostilities has led to the creation by the belligerents of a new Red Cross association. Here again, it was due to urgent needs, bred by a long drawn out war, that Peru decided to have its own Red Cross Society.

The International Committee has checked, when it examined the rules of the Peruvian Society—whose creation goes back to April 1879—that its constitution is founded upon the essential principles common to all Red Cross Societies. We therefore invite all existing Central Committees to embark upon regular and friendly relations with the Peruvian Central Committee and to consider it as a member of our general federation."

Judging from the documentary material available, the Peruvian Society appeared to be very active: it rapidly raised a considerable sum of money, which enabled it to go to the aid of the wounded through its four "ambulances", which were in fact four medical teams comprising a large number of persons despatched to the theatres of military operations. In addition, the society conducted negotiations to repatriate the wounded and to allow the "sisters of mercy" (as the nurses were called) to cross the firing lines. In June 1880, it entered into talks requiring considerable delicacy: "The President of the Lima Committee appeals to the Admiral in command of the Chilean Squadron blockading the port of Callao. . . . The Red Cross wishes to transport to Lima, where good hospitals are available, the helpless wounded of the recent fighting at Tacna. To this end, it has asked the Peruvian Government to lend to the Society a naval transport vessel, remove all its armament and convert it to a hospital ship, if the Chilean admiral would kindly recognize the vessel's neutrality and authorize it to cross the blockade. . . . The German colony in Lima has supplied 400 mattresses and as many blankets towards the conversion of the vessel into a hospital ship. . . ." After discussions lasting several days, requiring an intermediary to go back and forth several times, "the admiral sent his reply to the President of the Red Cross, giving his assent to all the various points set forth in the petition and sending a safe-conduct for the steamship Limeña, which will sail henceforth under the

Red Cross flag. . .” The vessel returned to harbour in July with a number of wounded, the bodies of some of those who died and several persons who today would be called refugees.

* * *

After the 1879 war, the Peruvian Society turned to other activities and adopted its work to the humanitarian needs in time of peace. It went to the relief of the numerous victims of natural disasters—floods, earthquakes, fires—which sometimes struck the country with terrible force. It was also active during the internal troubles in 1895 in Lima and during the hostilities with Ecuador in 1941.

We shall not enter into all the details of its history, except to note that, in 1886, by governmental decree, it took the name of “Peruvian Red Cross Society” and that it became on 17 June 1919 a member of the newly-created League of Red Cross Societies.

The Peruvian Red Cross was reorganized several times, in 1922, 1925, 1931, 1974, and its new statutes were approved by the Government on 29 December 1977. The National Society is now directed by a general assembly, which is its supreme body, and by a central committee, composed of members elected by the general assembly and by regional assemblies—who form a majority—and of representatives of the Ministry of Health, of the Ministry of Defence and of the Civil Defence National Committee. The ordinary day-to-day business of the Society is conducted by the executive committee.

The Red Cross in Peru is organized on the following lines: six regional centres, fourteen departmental committees, nine provincial committees and three district committees.

Funds for its activities are raised by public collections, lotteries, taxes levied on horse racing meetings, commercial collections, shows given in aid of the society, members’ subscriptions, donations, etc.

The Peruvian Red Cross carries out its activities in various sectors such as hygiene, social welfare, relief, blood donation. It has a youth section and a section consisting of voluntary nursing aids.

Health and social activities include safety measures to reduce accidents, first aid, medical education, vaccination campaigns, rescue exercises and home aid.

The society also dispenses instruction in first aid and handicrafts, gives literacy courses, teaches the elements of nutrition and hygiene, provides mother and child care, runs kindergartens and organizes entertainment and leisure activities for old people.

The Red Cross Youth section is a particularly lively branch of the society, in which it occupies a significant place. It organizes, among

other things, training courses in health education for school teachers. It keeps in touch with the youth sections of other National Societies and with benevolent societies such as Caritas and Iglesias Mundiales.

Since 1967, the Peruvian Red Cross has its own wireless transmitter and receiver station, which is of great help when relief operations have to be carried out.

In the field of information, the Society issues bulletins, shows first aid programmes on television and publishes articles in a Lima daily newspaper. It also works in co-operation with a cinematograph company for the production of documentary films.

International activities include the regular attendance of the Peruvian Red Cross at the International Red Cross Conferences. It has taken part in the League Board of Governors meetings and from 1973 to 1977, its delegate has sat on the League Executive Committee. The society has now been elected a member of the League's Junior Red Cross Advisory Committee for the period 1977 to 1981. It also sends its representatives to various international seminars on Red Cross activities.

* * *

In April 1979, the Peruvian Red Cross celebrated the hundredth anniversary of its foundation. At the ceremonies, the ICRC was represented by one of its members, Mr R. Jäckli, who said: "It gives me deep satisfaction to express here all the esteem which the ICRC feels towards the Peruvian Red Cross and to convey the ICRC's congratulations on the fruitful activities performed, over the past hundred years, by the National Society, in bringing aid to the victims of disease, poverty, wars and natural disasters of all kinds. The ICRC wishes to associate itself with the thousands of men and women in this country whose dedication and selflessness have so much contributed to the alleviation of suffering and to the progress of humanitarianism. The ICRC pays warm tribute and expresses its sincere gratitude to all those volunteers who have come forward to give the best of themselves in order to help their fellowmen. Such a rich past augurs well for the future. . . It is with this certainty in mind that the ICRC expresses its best wishes to the Peruvian Red Cross that it may continue to be a powerful factor for peace among individuals and among nations."

The *International Review of the Red Cross* joins wholeheartedly in those congratulations and good wishes.¹

¹ The sources for this article included the *Breve reseña de la historia de la Sociedad Peruana de la Cruz Roja* (unpublished) by General Demetrio Grados Vásquez, Chairman of the Reorganization Commission, and the *Bulletin international de la Croix-Rouge* for 1879 and 1880.

BOOKS AND REVIEWS

MARCEL A. BOISARD: L'HUMANISME DE L'ISLAM ¹

The *International Review* is pleased to present to its readers the recently published book by Marcel A. Boisard, who was for many years the ICRC delegate in the Arab Republic of Egypt, and who contributed several notable studies on Islam for the *Review*. For his book, Marcel Boisard was awarded the Prix de l'Amitié Franco-Arabe, in October 1979.

Much has been published concerning Islam in recent years, but the book by Marcel A. Boisard stands out for more than one reason. It is not a classical work on Islam nor is it a critical analysis of the contemporary Muslim world.

The author expounds the humanism of the Islamic world, on a plane where facts and theories merge, through the medium of a specific conception of the human being, of political institutions and of internationalist philosophy; he refers constantly to Islamic teaching to explain the facts and falls back on Muslim history to illustrate the theories. The study is set within the context of the new international order, which must include not only the economic and institutional aspects of life throughout the world but also the cultural, spiritual and juridical factors involved. Viewed in this way, Islam appears as one of the great moral and political forces in the world as we know it.

Subjects of current concern are dealt with successively: human rights, justice, the status of women, communal solidarity, social equity, safeguards for the rights of foreigners and non-Muslims. In the sphere of international relations, the author explains the dynamic pacifism of Islam, which prohibits aggression and all other forms of violence motivated by the desire for power, by religious intolerance or by the passion for wealth. Armed conflicts must also be conducted with propriety: Muslim teaching has developed extremely precise and inhibitive rules for the safety of non-combatants, humane treatment of the vanquished, and protection of the civilian population living in occupied territory.

¹ Ed. Albin Michel, Coll. Présence du monde arabe, Paris, 1979, 436 pp.

Today, the religious world of Islam is spreading while its political authority is gaining strength. Islam is rediscovering its age-old vocation, that of an open religion which imposes fundamental values. Islam, offering principles which are eternally valid in the eyes of Muslims, could, in the author's opinion, supply a vital contribution to the universal character of international law, reshaped at the universal level of the problems it is required to resolve, and could represent a nucleus of unchanging principles whose influence is growing steadily and playing an ever-increasing part in Muslim society throughout the world.

Because of lack of space, the *International Review of the Red Cross* would like to sell part of its stock of back numbers of the Review, in English, French, Spanish and German, at very reasonable prices. Complete sets are available.

Kindly send enquiries to *International Review of the Red Cross*, 17, avenue de la Paix, 1211 Geneva, Switzerland.

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EXTRACT FROM THE STATUTES OF
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

ADOPTED 21 JUNE 1973

ART. 1. — *International Committee of the Red Cross*

1. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), founded in Geneva in 1863 and formally recognized in the Geneva Conventions and by International Conferences of the Red Cross, shall be an independent organization having its own Statutes.

2. It shall be a constituent part of the International Red Cross.¹

ART. 2. — *Legal Status*

As an association governed by Articles 60 and following of the Swiss Civil Code, the ICRC shall have legal personality.

ART. 3. — *Headquarters and Emblem*

The headquarters of the ICRC shall be in Geneva.

Its emblem shall be a red cross on a white ground. Its motto shall be *Inter arma caritas*.

ART. 4. — *Role*

1. The special role of the ICRC shall be:

- (a) to maintain the fundamental principles of the Red Cross as proclaimed by the XXth International Conference of the Red Cross;
- (b) to recognize any newly established or reconstituted National Red Cross Society which fulfils the conditions for recognition in force, and to notify other National Societies of such recognition;
- (c) to undertake the tasks incumbent on it under the Geneva Conventions, to work for the faithful application of these Conventions and to take cognizance of any complaints regarding alleged breaches of the humanitarian Conventions;
- (d) to take action in its capacity as a neutral institution, especially in case of war, civil war or internal strife; to endeavour to ensure at all times that the military and civilian victims of such conflicts and of their direct results receive protection and assistance, and to serve in humanitarian matters, as an intermediary between the parties;
- (e) to ensure the operation of the Central Information Agencies provided for in the Geneva Conventions;
- (f) to contribute, in view of such conflicts, to the preparation and development of medical personnel and medical equipment, in co-operation with the Red Cross organizations, the medical services of the armed forces, and other competent authorities;
- (g) to work for the continual improvement of humanitarian international law and for the better understanding and diffusion of the Geneva Conventions and to prepare for their possible extension;
- (h) to accept the mandates entrusted to it by the International Conferences of the Red Cross.

2. The ICRC may also take any humanitarian initiative which comes within its role as a specifically neutral and independent institution and consider any question requiring examination by such an institution.

ART. 6 (first paragraph). — *Membership of the ICRC*

The ICRC shall co-opt its members from among Swiss citizens. It shall comprise fifteen to twenty-five members.

¹ The International Red Cross comprises the National Red Cross Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies. The term "National Red Cross Societies" includes the Red Crescent Societies and the Red Lion and Sun Society.

ADDRESSES OF NATIONAL SOCIETIES

- AFGHANISTAN (Democratic Republic) — Afghan Red Crescent, Puli Artan, *Kabul*.
- PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA — Albanian Red Cross, 35, Rruga e Barrikadave, *Tirana*.
- ALGERIA (Democratic and People's Republic) — Algerian Red Crescent Society, 15 bis, Boulevard Mohamed V, *Algiers*.
- ARGENTINA — Argentine Red Cross, H. Yrigoyen 2068, 1089 *Buenos Aires*.
- AUSTRALIA — Australian Red Cross, 206, Clarendon Street, *East Melbourne 3002*.
- AUSTRIA — Austrian Red Cross, 3 Gusshausstrasse, Postfach 39, *Vienna 4*.
- BAHAMAS — Bahamas Red Cross Society, P.O. Box N 91, *Nassau*.
- BAHRAIN — Bahrain Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 882, *Manama*.
- BANGLADESH — Bangladesh Red Cross Society, 34, Bangabandhu Avenue, *Dacca 2*.
- PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN — Red Cross of Benin, B.P. 1, *Porto Novo*.
- BELGIUM — Belgian Red Cross, 98 Chaussée de Vleurgat, 1050 *Brussels*.
- BOLIVIA — Bolivian Red Cross, Avenida Simón Bolívar, 1515, *La Paz*.
- BOTSWANA — Botswana Red Cross Society, Independence Avenue, P.O. Box 485, *Gaborone*.
- BRAZIL — Brazilian Red Cross, Praça Cruz Vermelha 10-12, *Rio de Janeiro*.
- BULGARIA — Bulgarian Red Cross, 1, Boul. Biruzov, *Sofia 27*.
- BURMA (Socialist Republic of the Union of) — Burma Red Cross, 42 Strand Road, Red Cross Building, *Rangoon*.
- BURUNDI — Red Cross Society of Burundi, rue du Marché 3, P.O. Box 324, *Bujumbura*.
- CAMEROON — Cameroon Red Cross Society, rue Henry-Dunant, P.O.B. 631, *Yaoundé*.
- CANADA — Canadian Red Cross, 95 Wellesley Street East, *Toronto, Ontario, M4Y 1H6*.
- CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC — Central African Red Cross, B.P. 1428, *Bangui*.
- CHILE — Chilean Red Cross, Avenida Santa María 0150, Correo 21, Casilla 246V., *Santiago*.
- CHINA (People's Republic) — Red Cross Society of China, 53 Kanmien Hutung, *Peking*.
- COLOMBIA — Colombian Red Cross, Carrera 7a, 34-65, Apartado nacional 1110, *Bogotá D.E.*
- CONGO, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF THE — Croix-Rouge Congolaise, place de la Paix, *Brazzaville*.
- COSTA RICA — Costa Rican Red Cross, Calle 14, Avenida 8, Apartado 1025, *San José*.
- CUBA — Cuban Red Cross, Calle 23 201 esq. N. Vedado, *Havana*.
- CZECHOSLOVAKIA — Czechoslovak Red Cross, Thunovska 18, 118 04 *Prague 1*.
- DENMARK — Danish Red Cross, Ny Vestergade 17, DK-1741 *Copenhagen K*.
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC — Dominican Red Cross, Apartado Postal 1293, *Santo Domingo*.
- ECUADOR — Ecuadorian Red Cross, Calle de la Cruz Roja y Avenida Colombia, 118, *Quito*.
- EGYPT (Arab Republic of) — Egyptian Red Crescent Society, 29, El-Galaa Street, *Cairo*.
- EL SALVADOR — El Salvador Red Cross, 3a Avenida Norte y 3a Calle Poniente, *San Salvador, C.A.*
- ETHIOPIA — Ethiopian Red Cross, Ras Desta Damtew Avenue, *Addis Ababa*.
- FIJI — Fiji Red Cross Society, 193 Rodwell Road, P.O. Box 569, *Suva*.
- FINLAND — Finnish Red Cross, Tehtaankatu 1 A, Box 168, 00141 *Helsinki 14/15*.
- FRANCE — French Red Cross, 17 rue Quentin Bauchart, F-75384 *Paris CEDEX 08*.
- GAMBIA — The Gambia Red Cross Society, P.O. Box 472, *Banjul*.
- GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC — German Red Cross in the German Democratic Republic, Kaizerstrasse 2, DDR 801 *Dresden 1*.
- GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF — German Red Cross in the Federal Republic of Germany, Friedrich-Ebert-Allee 71, 5300, *Bonn 1*, Postfach (D.B.R.).
- GHANA — Ghana Red Cross, National Headquarters, Ministries Annex A3, P.O. Box 835, *Accra*.
- GREECE — Hellenic Red Cross, rue Lycavittou 1, *Athens 135*.
- GUATEMALA — Guatemalan Red Cross, 3ª Calle 8-40, Zona 1, *Ciudad de Guatemala*.
- GUYANA — Guyana Red Cross, P.O. Box 351, Eve Leary, *Georgetown*.
- HAITI — Haiti Red Cross, Place des Nations Unies, B.P. 1337, *Port-au-Prince*.
- HONDURAS — Honduran Red Cross, 7a Calle, 1a y 2a Avenidas, *Comayagüela, D.M.*
- HUNGARY — Hungarian Red Cross, V. Arany János utca 31, *Budapest V*. Mail Add.: 1367 *Budapest 5*, Pf. 249.
- ICELAND — Icelandic Red Cross, Nótatúni 21, 105 *Reykjavik*.
- INDIA — Indian Red Cross, 1 Red Cross Road, *New Delhi 110001*.
- INDONESIA — Indonesian Red Cross, Jalan Abdul Muis 66, P.O. Box 2009, *Djakarta*.
- IRAN — Iranian Red Lion and Sun Society, Av. Villa, Carrefour Takhté Djamchid, *Teheran*.
- IRAQ — Iraqi Red Crescent, Al-Mansour, *Baghdad*.
- IRELAND — Irish Red Cross, 16 Merrion Square, *Dublin 2*.
- ITALY — Italian Red Cross, 12 via Toscana, *Rome*.
- IVORY COAST — Ivory Coast Red Cross Society, B.P. 1244, *Abidjan*.
- JAMAICA — Jamaica Red Cross Society, 76 Arnold Road, *Kingston 5*.
- JAPAN — Japanese Red Cross, 1-3 Shiba-Daimon 1-chome, Minato-Ku, *Tokyo 105*.
- JORDAN — Jordan National Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 10 001, *Amman*.
- KENYA — Kenya Red Cross Society, St. John's Gate, P.O. Box 40712, *Nairobi*.
- KOREA, DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF — Red Cross Society of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, *Pyongyang*.
- KOREA, REPUBLIC OF — The Republic of Korea National Red Cross, 32-3Ka Nam San-Dong, *Seoul*.
- KUWAIT — Kuwait Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 1350, *Kuwait*.
- LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC — Lao Red Cross, P.B. 650, *Vientiane*.
- LEBANON — Lebanese Red Cross, rue Spears, *Beirut*.
- LESOTHO — Lesotho Red Cross Society, P.O. Box 366, *Maseru*.

- LIBERIA** — Liberian National Red Cross, National Headquarters, 107 Lynch Street, P.O. Box 226, *Monrovia*.
- LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA** — Libyan Arab Red Crescent, P.O. Box 541, *Benghazi*.
- LIECHTENSTEIN** — Liechtenstein Red Cross, *Vaduz*.
- LUXEMBOURG** — Luxembourg Red Cross, Parc de la Ville, C.P. 404, *Luxembourg*.
- MALAGASY REPUBLIC** — Red Cross Society of the Malagasy Republic, rue Patrice Lumumba, *Antananarivo*.
- MALAWI** — Malawi Red Cross, Hall Road, *Blantyre* (P.O. Box 30080, Chichiri, *Blantyre* 3).
- MALAYSIA** — Malaysian Red Crescent Society, JKR 2358, Jalan Tun Ismail, *Kuala Lumpur* 11-02.
- MALI** — Mali Red Cross, B.P. 280, *Bamako*.
- MAURITANIA** — Mauritanian Red Crescent Society, B.P. 344, Avenue Gamal Abdel Nasser, *Nouakchott*.
- MAURITIUS** — Mauritius Red Cross, Ste Thérèse Street, *Curepipe*.
- MEXICO** — Mexican Red Cross, Avenida Ejército Nacional n° 1032, *México* 10 D.F.
- MONACO** — Red Cross of Monaco, 27 boul. de Suisse, *Monte Carlo*.
- MONGOLIA** — Red Cross Society of the Mongolian People's Republic, Central Post Office, Post Box 537, *Ulan Bator*.
- MOROCCO** — Moroccan Red Crescent, B.P. 189, *Rabat*.
- NEPAL** — Nepal Red Cross Society, Tahachal, P.B. 217, *Kathmandu*.
- NETHERLANDS** — Netherlands Red Cross, 27 Prinsessegracht, *The Hague*.
- NEW ZEALAND** — New Zealand Red Cross, Red Cross House, 14 Hill Street, *Wellington* 1. (P.O. Box 12-140, *Wellington North*.)
- NICARAGUA** — Nicaragua Red Cross, D.N. Apartado 3279, *Managua*.
- NIGER** — Red Cross Society of Niger, B.P. 386, *Niamey*.
- NIGERIA** — Nigerian Red Cross Society, Eko Aketa Close, off St. Gregory Rd., P.O. Box 764, *Lagos*.
- NORWAY** — Norwegian Red Cross, Parkveien 33b, *Oslo*. Mail Add.: *Postboks 7034 H-Oslo* 3.
- PAKISTAN** — Pakistan Red Crescent Society, National Headquarters, 169, Sarwar Road, *Rawalpindi*.
- PAPUA NEW GUINEA** — Red Cross of Papua New Guinea, P.O. Box 6545, *Boroko*.
- PANAMA** — Panamanian Red Cross, Apartado Postal 668, Zona 1, *Panamá*.
- PARAGUAY** — Paraguayan Red Cross, Brasil 216, *Asunción*.
- PERU** — Peruvian Red Cross, Jirón Chancay 881, *Lima*.
- PHILIPPINES** — Philippine National Red Cross, 860 United Nations Avenue, P.O.B. 280, *Manila* 2801.
- POLAND** — Polish Red Cross, Mokotowska 14, *Warsaw*.
- PORTUGAL** — Portuguese Red Cross, Jardim 9 Abril, 1 a 5, *Lisbon* 3.
- ROMANIA** — Red Cross of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Strada Biserica Amzei 29, *Bucarest*.
- SAN MARINO** — San Marino Red Cross, Palais gouvernemental, *San Marino*.
- SAUDI ARABIA** — Saudi Arabian Red Crescent, *Riyadh*.
- SENEGAL** — Senegalese Red Cross Society, Bd Franklin-Roosevelt, P.O.B. 299, *Dakar*.
- SIERRA LEONE** — Sierra Leone Red Cross Society, 6A Liverpool Street, P.O.B. 427, *Freetown*.
- SINGAPORE** — Singapore Red Cross Society, 15 Penang Lane, *Singapore* 9.
- SOMALIA (DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC)** — Somali Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 937, *Mogadishu*.
- SOUTH AFRICA** — South African Red Cross, Cor. Kruis & Market Streets, P.O.B. 8726, *Johannesburg* 2001.
- SPAIN** — Spanish Red Cross, Eduardo Dato 16, *Madrid* 10.
- SRI LANKA (Dem. Soc. Rep. of)** — Sri Lanka Red Cross Society, 106 Dharmapala Mawatha, *Colombo* 7.
- SUDAN** — Sudanese Red Crescent, P.O. Box 235, *Khartoum*.
- SWAZILAND** — Baphalali Swaziland Red Cross Society, P.O. Box 377, *Mbabane*.
- SWEDEN** — Swedish Red Cross, Fack, S-104 40 *Stockholm* 14.
- SWITZERLAND** — Swiss Red Cross, Taubenstrasse 8, B.P. 2699, *3001 Berne*.
- SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC** — Syrian Red Crescent, Bd Mahdi Ben Barake, *Damascus*.
- TANZANIA** — Tanzania Red Cross Society, Upanga Road, P.O.B. 1133, *Dar es Salaam*.
- THAILAND** — Thai Red Cross Society, Paribatra Building, Chulalongkorn Memorial Hospital, *Bangkok*.
- TOGO** — Togolese Red Cross Society, 51 rue Boko Soga, P.O. Box 655, *Lomé*.
- TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO** — Trinidad and Tobago Red Cross Society, Wrightson Road West, P.O. Box 357, *Port of Spain*, Trinidad, West Indies.
- TUNISIA** — Tunisian Red Crescent, 19 rue d'Angleterre, *Tunis*.
- TURKEY** — Turkish Red Crescent, Yenisehir, *Ankara*.
- UGANDA** — Uganda Red Cross, Nabunya Road, P.O. Box 494, *Kampala*.
- UNITED KINGDOM** — British Red Cross, 9 Grosvenor Crescent, *London, SW1X 7EJ*.
- UPPER VOLTA** — Upper Volta Red Cross, P.O.B. 340, *Ouagadougou*.
- URUGUAY** — Uruguayan Red Cross, Avenida 8 de Octubre 2990, *Montevideo*.
- U.S.A.** — American National Red Cross, 17th and D Streets, N.W., *Washington, D.C.* 20006.
- U.S.S.R.** — Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, I. Tcheremushkinskii proezd 5, *Moscow* 117036.
- VENEZUELA** — Venezuelan Red Cross, Avenida Andrés Bello No. 4, Apart. 3185, *Caracas*.
- VIET NAM, SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF** — Red Cross of Viet Nam, 68 rue Bà-Triệu, *Hanoi*.
- YUGOSLAVIA** — Red Cross of Yugoslavia, Simina ulica broj 19, *Belgrade*.
- REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE** — Red Cross of the Republic of Zaire, 41 av. de la Justice, B.P. 1712, *Kinshasa*.
- ZAMBIA** — Zambia Red Cross, P.O. Box R.W.1, 2837 Brentwood Drive, *Lusaka*.